EMBRACING THE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The Nation.

CAN THE LEFT GET RIGHT WITH GOD?
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Frances Kissling
Michael Lerner

FRANCE'S STUDENT UPRISING
Angelique Chrisafis

FUKUYAMA'S SECOND THOUGHTS
Perry Anderson

LEFT BEHIND

DeLAY GOES, BUT HIS CORRUPT HOUSE STILL STANDS
by JOHN NICHOLS

PRIL 24, 2006
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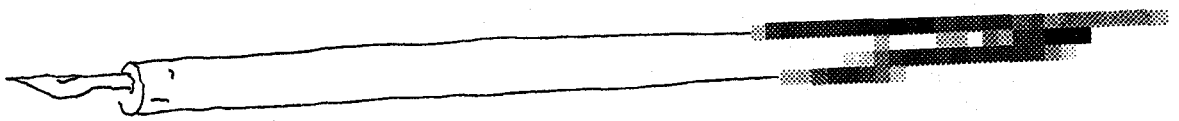

R. O. BLECHMAN

PHOTO NATION DEBUT

Harpswell, Me.

■ The photographs by Eugene Richards prove the old adage that a picture is worth 1,000 words ["War Is Personal," March 27]. His poignant text, in under 1,000 words, served to heighten the impact of his soul-searing photographs. These few photos jarred me as no bombed-out car or rows of sheet-draped bodies in Iraq could. Too bad the mainstream media don't show more of the 16,000 wounded as they confront their "almost dead" bodies. That kind of photojournalism gets our attention and perhaps would quicken the return of more whole troops! HARRIET RICHARDS *(no relation)*

LEAVING STEPFORD...

Melrose Park, Pa.

■ Katha Pollitt's eloquent tribute to Betty Friedan ["Subject to Debate," Feb. 27] reminds us how much courage it took for Friedan to stand up for women in the early 1960s. More than twenty years earlier Friedan spoke out for another unpopular cause. She was a freshman at Smith College in 1938, when Hitler unleashed the Kristallnacht pogrom. Smith president William Allen Neilson urged the students to sign a petition asking President Roosevelt to let German Jewish girls enter the United States outside immigration quotas, to enroll at Smith. "A number of girls spoke against it, about not wanting any more Jews at Smith," Friedan wrote in her memoir, *Life So Far*. There were four older, well-to-do Jewish girls in her dorm. "I expected them to speak up, but they didn't. Finally, despite being only a freshman from Peoria, I spoke, urging that we open our doors to those girls fleeing persecution." Sadly, the petition was rejected by a large margin. RAFAEL MEDOFF

Asheville, NC

■ In response to Katha Pollitt's recent columns and her moving remarks on Betty Friedan, I write to add another perspective on the question of whether middle-class women are running away from careers into domesticity. Women of my generation and class who are putting careers on hold to devote themselves to family are not rejecting feminism. They are exhausted. Raising children while maintaining a career is incredibly draining, especially for women who do not have involved (or any) partners, flexible work schedules or affordable daycare. Even for those of us who do, balancing work and family is too much. The kids can't be sent back, but the careers can, so domesticity wins. Some of us coming of age in the 1980s took Friedan and other second wavers too literally, believing we could, and should, "have it all." As one second waver recently put it: "We said you could be *any*thing, not *every*thing." TRACEY RIZZO

Baltimore

■ If Katha Pollitt is going to teach that class on the bad old days again, she needs details to get through to her students. Things like: In the 1960s the classifieds were divided into Help Wanted, Male; Help Wanted, Female; and Help Wanted, Colored. There were med schools and law schools that wouldn't *consider* female applicants, and people who argued that women couldn't read the news on TV because it wouldn't sound serious. A 1973 "self-help" book: *How to Help Your Husband Get Ahead*, by Mrs. Dale Carnegie. KATHARINE W. RYLAARSDAM

LABOR'S GIANT COCKROACH?

New York City

■ Gregor Samsa awoke one morning to find himself transformed into a giant insect. Somewhat similarly, in "Labor Pains" [March 6] I found myself transformed into David Horowitz. Corruption! Corruption! Corruption! It's all Fitch can talk about, complains reviewer Kim Phillips-Fein. Doesn't Fitch realize he's undermining the labor movement?

Evidently my book *Solidarity for Sale* contains a lot about the murky origins, arrested development and bad consequences of America's fiefdom model of unionism. Corruption does turn up a lot. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* dwelt a lot on corrupt meat. His strategy was to use rotten beef to illustrate what was wrong with industrial capitalism. Mine is to try to use union corruption to explain what has gone wrong with American unionism. And beyond that, the advent of American exceptionalism.

My aim was not, as claims Phillips-Fein, to answer the rather dated question, How come there is no socialism in America? but instead to ask, How come American capitalism became the wildest, the most exploitive, most unequal variant in the industrialized world—lacking national healthcare, a minimum vacation law or protections against arbitrary firing?

Phillips-Fein claims I blame labor's troubles on the inception of the AFL in 1885. In fact, I show the origin far earlier. Both European and American unions share a common ancestor: the closed model of monopoly unionism. Despite challenges from the Knights of Labor, the IWW and the early CIO, US unionism never got much beyond a primitive protection system. The AFL union boss who could control a territory protected his clients from the employer and the employer from the members. Eventually all three parties came under the protection of the organized crime boss. The upshot today is 20,000 petty, rent-seeking institutions buttressed by the nineteenth-century instruments of closed shop, exclusive bargaining and dues check-off.

Plainly, not all 20,000 are corrupt. It's also plain, though, that our unions can't grow, organize, strike, keep the pension and benefit funds from disappearing or advance a common progressive political agenda. Phillips-Fein doesn't really dispute this. Her point is the customary claim of official labor's defenders that it's all the employers' fault. But is it really the fault of big capital that most US unions side with corporate interests in opposing a single-payer health system? *Solidarity for Sale* shows how it follows from the logic of the fiefdom model.

In Europe labor movements led by Catholic, Communist and Socialist parties built national organizations that brought something like social democracy without relying on nineteenth-century mechanisms of forced unionism. They all have national healthcare systems. What the unions in Europe *don't* have is a mob problem, not even in Italy.

Is my solution then to take away the mechanisms of forced unionism? Phillips-Fein says it is. But it isn't. In fact, I say exactly the opposite: "The point is not to demand that old arthritic AFL unions throw away their crutches," the conclusion states, "but rather to show that unions can be built on a voluntary basis." What turns off more people to the labor movement? Denial, distortion and repetition of tired formulas? Or having the courage to confront unpleasant facts and face up to the need for painful changes?

The stakes are nothing less than our continued existence. There's a growing recognition that the left can't recover without a coast-to-coast revival of labor. But as the Los Angeles model of "progressive unionism" dissolves into the dust and disgrace of plea bargaining and the FBI raids the offices of the New York Central Labor Council, it's clear too that such a labor revival can't come from the inside out or the top down. Left adversaries—including Terence Powderly, Eugene Debs, W.E.B. Du Bois, William "Big Bill" Haywood, Dorothy Day and the late Herbert Hill—all insisted on the need for full-scale structural reform of America's fiefdom model of labor unionism. *Solidarity for Sale* seeks to revive this critical tradition. ROBERT FITCH

PHILLIPS-FEIN REPLIES

New York City

■ In his letter Robert Fitch performs his own act of metamorphosis: I become labor's "official defender," while he manages to carry the mantle of every great left radical and critic of labor in US history. I agree that unions are in a state of crisis. And, as I said in my initial review, corruption *is* part of the problem; far from denying that corruption exists or saying we shouldn't talk about it, I pointed readers to several other books on the topic. But in my opinion, Fitch's analytic reliance on the "fiefdom model," whose widespread applicability to the labor movement he does not demonstrate, greatly weakens his book. That model has nothing to say about unions that grew out of social movements—like the hospital workers' union, Local 1199, which was led by leftists and which developed in tandem with the

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EDITORIALS

Immigrants & Us

More than half a million in Los Angeles, 300,000 in Chicago, 50,000 in Denver, 30,000 in Washington and Milwaukee. Tens of thousands more in Detroit, Phoenix, Houston, Dallas, Reno, Newark and New York City, as well as places like Grand Rapids and Nashville. Sparked by the punitive Sensenbrenner bill, which would criminalize undocumented workers and anyone who helps them, immigrants flooded the streets of cities and suburbs across the nation. The rest of the country watched in astonishment as the wave of immigrants that has swept our economy crested into a mass movement that will transform our politics.

The key word is *will*. The comprehensive reform of immigration policy that the movement wants is not going to come from this Congress, riven as it is with splits among Republicans who want to keep the poor huddled masses out; Republicans who want to keep them in but keep them poor; and Democrats too weak and anxious to light the way down a better path. At this writing, in fact, the best outcome for now appears to be no resolution at all. Nonetheless, whether it takes two years or ten, this movement, bolstered by its growing social and electoral clout, will have its demands addressed: family reunification; a solution to the visa backlog, now at 6.2 million and counting; and the coveted "path to citizenship" that allows immigrant workers to build lives with a future.

This will happen with or without the vigorous participation of the "progressive movement." But it would be far better, for progressives and for immigrant advocates, if the two groups could work together in a broad social movement that places the rights of immigrants at the heart of a struggle for economic justice. After all, the most frequently cited arguments for stricter immigration controls—and the fears, grounded in experience, of lower-skilled American workers, especially African-Americans—stem from systemic problems plaguing the bottom of the labor market: low wages (tamped down by a federal minimum pegged at $5.15 an hour); lax enforcement of labor laws (rendering the right to organize unions virtually meaningless); widespread and abusive systems of subcontracting in low-wage industries; and, yes, a ready supply of cheap immigrant labor, vulnerable to exploitation because of its illegal status.

The competitive dynamic between low-skilled American-born workers and undocumented ones is a difficult issue, there's no point in denying it. But it's not the impossible conundrum many commentators have suggested. The response is clear: Raise the floor—increase the minimum wage, enforce and reform labor laws, address the healthcare crisis, crack down on employers who exploit immigrant workers, grant undocumented workers civil rights and ultimately citizenship rather than second-class "guest worker" status. These measures would improve the lives of workers across the board. In other words, immigration reform must be linked to labor-market reform. And immigrants would be a key constituency for that broader program.

The labor movement has made great strides in recent years on immigrants' issues, as some unions have seen that their future depends largely on their success in recruiting members among the growing low-wage immigrant workforce. And they have been rewarded with increasing numbers of immigrant members. The faith-based community also gets it: The Catholic Church, from moral principle or awareness that Latinos are its lifeblood (or both), helped to galvanize the recent demonstrations, with LA's Cardinal Roger Mahony pledging civil disobedience if the Sensenbrenner bill becomes law. Evangelical churches with large immigrant congregations and faith-based organizing groups also helped fill the streets.

Progressives must show, too, that they care about immigrants'

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issues if they want immigrants to throw their energy and weight into progressive causes. But for the most part, they haven't. While a few leaders, like Representative Sheila Jackson Lee, have fought for sensible and humane immigration policies, others have added their voices to the xenophobic chorus, and most progressives have simply remained disengaged. This makes neither moral nor strategic sense. Numerically, immigrants could become an anchor of the progressive base and over time a key part of an electoral strategy. Consider what happened in California after the passage of the immigrant-baiting Prop 187: Democrats (including a new generation of Latino politicians) reaped the benefits after enraged Latino voters knocked the wind out of the Republican Party. Today's mass protests, which were similarly triggered by anger at an anti-immigrant bill, grew out of a network of community organizations, church-based groups, low-wage-worker organizations, hometown associations and a vibrant ethnic media—an infrastructure that could play a crucial role in future elections and campaigns.

Undocumented immigrants are among the most exploited and most vulnerable segments of our population, and movements among such groups have historically been generative: They develop leaders and create energy for broader reforms. Immigrants have a natural interest in progressive change on a range of issues, standing as they do at the crossroads (and often in the cross hairs) of globalization, corporate power and economic inequality. Indeed, in the current debate we should be discussing not only how to treat people when they get to the border but what makes them come—growing inequality between North and South, the need to escape poverty and the hope that success will make it possible to send money home. There's no way to devise an effective border policy if we fail to address the root causes of migration. So progressives and immigrant advocates have a mutual interest in the global justice agenda, specifically in seeking alternatives to trade agreements like NAFTA and CAFTA that would reduce global inequality.

As government authorities engage in racial profiling and random road checks in immigrant communities in the name of national security, those communities have a special stake in protests against violations of civil liberties. Many recent immigrants also take a skeptical view of the war in Iraq, especially those from Central American countries with strong left traditions that have been on the receiving end of US military interventions.

Progressives sometimes express an uneasiness about this new movement, based on concerns about immigrants' social conservatism. But bridges can be built that benefit both sides. At the founding convention of the Arizona Migrant Coalition last September, 500 mostly Catholic and evangelical Latinos gave a standing ovation to an openly lesbian, white progressive state senator. They did so because she has been one of their most reliable allies. Social alliances—as the relationship between big business and moral conservatives has shown—are made, not born.

A word on guest workers. Some progressives (and most Democrats) supported the McCain-Kennedy bill, which authorizes guest-worker programs that provide a path to citizenship, as well as the bipartisan bill that emerged from the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 27, which included "temporary workers"

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EDITORIALS

along with several sweeteners added after the massive show of strength from immigrants in the streets. The improved Senate bill *was* a testament to the exciting momentum of this new movement. But these legislative proposals represent a trade-off that relegates future flows of immigrant workers to second-tier status, while addressing the urgent needs of those already here. The guest-worker provisions feed the voracious appetite for cheap labor of employers, who should be required to treat all workers with dignity and respect and to provide them with family-supporting wages and benefits. These employers prefer temporary workers not because the jobs are temporary but because they know that these workers can be pushed harder, paid less and prevented from unionizing. On this issue the AFL-CIO has it right: Guest-worker programs are wrong. And a two-tier system would undercut exactly the sort of broad class-based agenda that could bring progressives and immigrant advocates together.

To be sure, the immigrant rights movement faces some major challenges. Will it embrace a broad social vision or a narrowly nationalist one, seeking only acceptance and assimilation? Will it represent diverse immigrant constituencies who face issues beyond legalization, such as assaults on civil liberties? And will it make common cause with African-Americans and other historically oppressed groups? The visionary and sophisticated leadership of the emerging movement suggests that the answers to those questions will be yes. But it remains to be seen whether progressives will place justice for immigrants at the center of their vision and work. The next opportunity: nationwide actions and demos planned for April 10 (see www.april10.org).

'The Lobby'

There are few topics as sensitive in American foreign policy debates as the relationship between Israel and the United States. So it should come as no surprise that two academic heavyweights of the realist school, John Mearsheimer, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, and Stephen Walt, a professor and outgoing academic dean at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, aroused a furor when they published an article alleging that US Middle East policy "is due almost entirely...to the activities of the 'Israel Lobby,'" and that this lobby has damaged US national security. Such arguments have been made before, of course, but never by such key luminaries of the foreign policy brain trust. In addition, the article carries the imprimatur of the Kennedy School's Faculty Research Working Papers Series (a shorter version was originally published in *The London Review of Books* after it was rejected by a US magazine).

The professors deserve credit for addressing such a controversial topic, especially at a time when dissent is being challenged as unpatriotic. Unfortunately, too much of the initial response to "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy" has been characterized by reckless, ad hominem denunciation; notable in this regard are the Likud-flavored *New York Sun*, Harvard lawyer and Zionist pit bull Alan Dershowitz and New York Representative Eliot Engel, who called the authors anti-Semites. These attacks, some bordering on the hysterical, are designed to shut off debate and intimidate the professors and anyone else who asks hard questions about the US-Israel relationship. In an astute editorial in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, Daniel Levy, a former policy adviser for prime minister Ehud Barak, deplored such "bullying tactics" and "the McCarthyite policing of academia" as "deeply un-Jewish. It would in fact serve Israel if the open and critical debate that takes place over here were exported over there."

An open debate, after all, isn't the same thing as approval. Although Mearsheimer and Walt are correct in their claim that a powerful Israel lobby often bullies critics and has extraordinary influence on Capitol Hill, they never clearly define US national interests in the region, and thus the claim that Israel undermines them—and that the tail wags the dog rather than serving those interests—remains an undemonstrated assertion, as is their argument that the Iraq War "was due in large part to the Lobby's influence." This last plank in their thesis is a particularly startling one coming from representatives of the realist school, given the overwhelming strategic prize that conquest of the Iraqi oilfields would represent in an era of rapidly growing worldwide competition for declining natural resources. Startling too, when one considers the close connection of the Bush Administration to the oil lobby.

The key point, though, is that these questions can only be constructively argued in an atmosphere that encourages open discussion. We thus commend Kennedy School dean David Ellwood for standing behind Mearsheimer and Walt and for supporting the cause of "academic freedom and vigorous open debate" in the face of intimidation.

COMMENT

What DeLay Left Behind

Tom DeLay is quitting a re-election race he could not win and soon will exit the House he held in a hammerlock for the better part of a decade because, he says, "It was obvious to me that this election had become a referendum on me." But if there is to be any real repair of the democracy that DeLay so damaged, November's competition for control of the House still must be that referendum on DeLay—or, more precisely, on the "DeLayism" that continues to characterize this Congress.

The vast majority of the House Republican Caucus, and every member elected since the Republican "revolution" of 1994, owe not just their Congressional careers but their understanding of how to play the political game to the disgraced former House majority leader. It was DeLay who replaced the clumsy corruption of the reckless visionary with whom he had climbed the ladder of power, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, with the rigid pay-to-play policy-making that defines Washington today. The Texas Congressman may have worked through others, most notably the hapless wrestling coach he positioned two heartbeats away from the presidency, Speaker Dennis Hastert, but no one ever doubted that this

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COMMENT

was The Hammer's House. And so it remains.

The great deception that is foisted upon voters by defenders of the status quo is the claim that the broken machinery of government can be fixed by replacing a crooked chief mechanic. The problem, of course, is that the chief mechanic trains the team that is left behind to run the machinery, and that is particularly true in DeLay's case. Just as Public Citizen's Joan Claybrook is right when she says that DeLay "led his colleagues to new heights of corruption," so she is right when she says that the departure of the Bible-quoting architect of their corruption is not going to turn his acolytes into choir boys. Redemption is not in the cards for this crowd. That's because the bug-spray specialist from Sugar Land, Texas, fundamentally altered his party and Congress by exterminating not just Democrats but those pesky Republicans who challenged his schemes. DeLay "primaried" colleagues whose ethics got in the way of his project, steering money and support to challengers who either defeated independent-thinking GOP incumbents or scared them into lining up with his agenda. Behind closed doors, senior members of the House cried, pleaded and threatened to expose DeLay, but when the time came, they voted as he told them they must.

Eventually DeLay obtained a House majority that he could deliver with such certainty that he was able to dictate not just the course of Congressional deliberations but the politics of Washington and much of the nation. That power, in turn, allowed his K Street Project to redefine campaign giving so that corporations no longer hedged bets by dividing their largesse between the two parties; they simply hired lobbyists and wrote checks as DeLay and his operatives instructed. With unlimited resources at his command, DeLay moved to create the permanent majority that would allow him to set the agenda for decades to come—not by winning elections but by manipulating the redistricting process to create an ever expanding pool of districts where Republicans could not lose. DeLay even ventured into presidential politics, dispatching an Izod-clad army of aides and allies to Miami in November 2000 to shut down a Dade County recount that he feared would deny the presidency to fellow Texan George W. Bush.

With his President in position and Republican hegemony assured, DeLay went on a five-year rampage, keeping votes on unpopular trade deals and other Bush Administration legislative initiatives open until enough arms were broken to deliver one-vote majorities; seeding lobbying firms with former aides whose "access" made them millionaires and who, in turn, assured that the majority leader's burgeoning network of campaign committees never wanted for the money that is the mother's milk of politics; and pressing campaign givers who had no interest in Texas but a desire to keep the majority leader happy to fund a takeover of that state's legislature that made it possible to redistrict five Democratic Congressmen out of their seats. DeLay's excesses finally caught up with him only because a courageous Texas prosecutor, Travis County District Attorney Ronnie Earle, secured the indictments that toppled the King of Capitol Hill, first from his leadership perch and then, as federal and state indictments and convictions of former aides associated with the Jack Abramoff lobbying scandal brought the certainty of new and more serious prosecutions, from Congress itself.

DeLay is gone. But the machine he built goes on. Even after handing off his leadership first to a bumbling henchman, Missouri Congressman Roy Blunt, and then to the more graceful if still ethically challenged John Boehner, DeLay remains the GOP's Godfather Without Portfolio. When he announced his exit strategy, DeLay was praised for statesmanship that only the most blindly loyal disciple could have detected, with Boehner saying of his predecessor: "He has served our nation with integrity and honor."

Absurd as those words may be, they are a true evocation of Republican sentiments regarding DeLay. Yes, he became a public embarrassment. But behind the closed doors of this House, he remains the definitional figure. He elected its members and he trained them to play politics by a set of rules so perverse and so perverting that most of them have been rendered incapable of changing the way they do business. Even if some Republicans attempt a public rebranding, they will remain bound to the electoral infrastructure that DeLay created, a web of PACs, educational projects and charities designed not just to shake the corporate money tree but to reap votes from the Christian fundamentalist base DeLay courted even to the point of aligning the party leadership—including Bush and Senate majority leader Bill Frist—with the narrow minority view that Terri Schiavo must be kept technically "alive" in a persistent vegetative state.

Only an election can rid the House of DeLayism. The Hammer acknowledged as much by stage-managing a final exit that was one last manipulation of the process: an attempt to remove the symbol of what ails Congress in order to preserve the ailment itself. Republicans still think they can cling to the power DeLay gave them. The redistricting crimes DeLay committed, not just

CALVIN TRILLIN

A Considered Jurisprudential Analysis of the Guilty Plea by Yet Another Former Aide to Tom DeLay and DeLay's Resignation Announcement Three Days Later

This latest guilty plea, by Tony Rudy,
Convinced Tom he was stuck in deepest doody.

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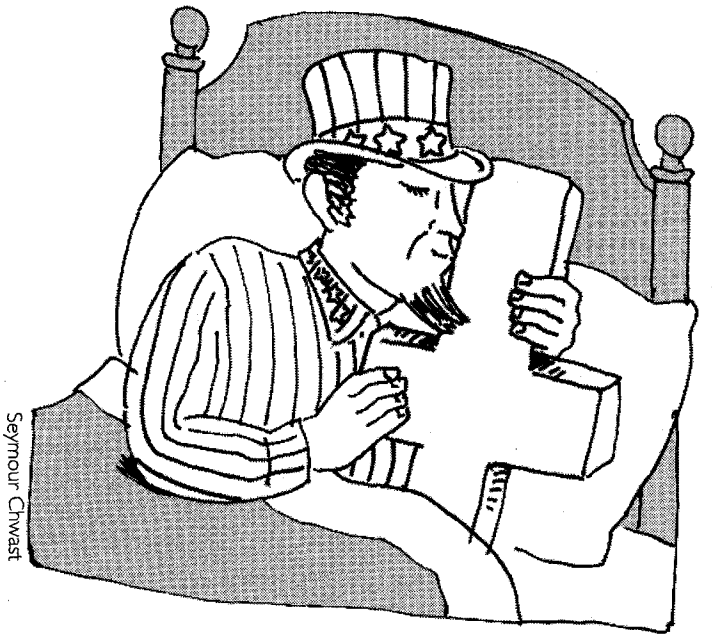

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COMMENT

in Texas but nationally, give GOP candidates advantages even as polls suggest that sentiment is rapidly shifting away from the party in power. Currently, only a few dozen Congressional districts are genuinely competitive. That circumstance might shift if Democrats develop a progressive equivalent of Gingrich's 1994 Contract With America. But if the opposition party fails to nationalize the 2006 election, this fall will be characterized by the political version of hand-to-hand combat in the few districts that will decide control of a chamber where a fifteen-seat shift can put Democrats in charge.

At this point the competition is close enough—thanks to Bush's sagging ratings, public frustration with the war and fears about Social Security, Republican retirements and a reasonably strong class of Democratic challengers—that DeLay's decision to step aside so a more electable Republican can compete for his seat is a significant development. One seat could matter that much. And DeLay's sacrifice will energize the army of warriors he trained. They will not surrender the ground easily. But without a leader—and the financial and tactical skills he brought to the battle—the Republican majority is finally vulnerable. And that's why DeLay's exit creates as much of a challenge for Democrats as for Republicans.

GOP leaders know what they must do: Cut their losses, retain their power and regroup for the 2008 presidential election. For Democrats the task is greater. They must respond to the vulnerability that DeLay's exit confirms not by telling themselves that getting rid of one terrible Texan has changed things, or that the stars are aligning in their favor, but by mounting a truly national campaign that tells the American people that no change will come until DeLay's Congress is retired with him. The message for such a campaign has already been framed in its most basic sense by the Campaign for America's Future and other groups that have dogged DeLay and the House Republican Caucus with a coherent, unrelenting attack on "the culture of corruption." The themes are there for the taking. The campaign finance, ethics and election reform proposals have already been written. But they must be embraced, quickly and unequivocally, by Democrats who recognize that without DeLay to kick around anymore, they have to identify DeLayism as the infestation it is, and to finally make a populist and convincing case that they are committed to exterminating it once and for all. JOHN NICHOLS

Where's 'Real Security'?

Despite the change in public attitudes driven by the acceleration of violence and chaos in Iraq, high-ranking Democrats continue to believe that a "tough" approach to national security is their best bet for winning elections. Because of this misconception, their recently released plan for "Real Security" fails to make the decisions needed to produce a smarter, more effective defense policy.

Rather than hedge their bets out of fear of being labeled "soft" on defense, Democrats should distinguish themselves from the Bush Administration by setting a date for withdrawal from Iraq. They should also take a broader view of security, one promoting the notion that the government's job is to protect its citizens from all major threats, whether they emanate from terrorism, epidemics, natural disasters, environmental degradation or entrenched poverty.

Instead, one of the most touted elements of the Democrats' new plan is their pledge to "eliminate Osama bin Laden [and] destroy terrorist networks like Al Qaeda."

This hawkish rhetoric has little chance of generating a successful policy. Al Qaeda is a loosely structured "network of networks" that can operate with or without Osama bin Laden. "Destroying" it is the wrong goal. A more realistic objective would be to render Al Qaeda irrelevant by addressing the political, ideological, economic and security concerns that allow it to attract new recruits. To its credit, the Democrats' Real Security plan makes reference to these root causes of terrorism. But it contradicts itself by suggesting that Al Qaeda can somehow be wiped out as though it were a traditional military adversary.

One positive plank of the Democrats' security platform is its commitment to lock up or destroy currently unsecured nuclear bomb-making materials by 2010. This approach, which is probably the most effective way to keep terrorist groups from acquiring the ingredients for a nuclear weapon or "dirty bomb," would require nearly doubling current funding for this purpose, to $3 billion a year. That amounts to less than two weeks of the current cost of the Bush Administration's war.

Another sound idea is the pledge to push for energy independence by promoting alternative fuels and greater energy efficiency. The stated goal is to limit our dependence on oil from "unstable regions," but there is no mention of the most important reason to reduce use of fossil fuels—reducing the impact of global climate change. If the Democrats could articulate an energy investment plan that talks about how soon new technologies can make a difference in reducing our dependence on oil, they would be better positioned to underscore the hypocrisy of George W. Bush's promise to end America's "addiction" to oil.

The most striking aspect of the Real Security plan is what it leaves out. There is no talk of reducing the US nuclear arsenal. There is no position taken on whether the Democrats should renounce the use of force against North Korea or Iran. There is no suggestion to cut the military budget, which could reach $600 billion this year once the costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are taken into account. There are tens of billions of dollars' worth of cold war–era relics in the military budget that have no legitimate strategic purpose and are ripe for elimination.

With the 2006 elections looming, it is unlikely that the Democratic leadership will change its official national security strategy in any significant way. But individual candidates can and should offer more progressive alternatives that can prevent conflicts as well as resolve them. WILLIAM D. HARTUNG

William D. Hartung is a President's Fellow at the World Policy Institute at the New School. This article was adapted from a longer piece that appeared on TomPaine.com.

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Joe Wezorek is the editor of the blog American Leftist (http://amleft.blogspot.com).

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

They Should Have Hissed Barack Obama

What a contrast between the French demonstrations and the vast and exciting marches here against proposed immigration laws, as contrasted to the limp turnouts against the US war on Iraq!

Across a few explosive weeks the first two series of protests have surged in numbers and political impact. In France there were 3 million on the streets one day. Just in Los Angeles a few weeks ago, there were more than half a million. In Paris Dominique de Villepin, the author of the hated law loosening curbs on employers' right to fire new hires, is fighting for his political life. In Congress US senators revised the language of their bill in step with the magnitude and passion of the rallies.

Meanwhile, though two out of three here in the United States disapprove of the war in Iraq, there's no energetic leadership from above, no irresistible shove from below.

Why? There's no draft. There's no reason to fear that your number will come up. No draft, hence no burgeoning antiwar movement, moving from strength to strength, terrorizing the politicians. What's the degree of separation between most of us and the 133,000 US military in Iraq? The closest I get to people who have served in Iraq is to the parents in Military Families Speak Out when I share platforms with them.

So how do we narrow the degrees of separation? By vets counseling students against enlisting, by inviting Military Families Against the War to speak locally. Remember, the antiwar movement reached its peak last year, because Cindy Sheehan connected millions to the war; also—this is crucial—her vigil outside Crawford allowed for buildup. She didn't fold her tent in a day.

The war's coming home all right, in the form of people dreadfully wounded in body and spirit. Thousands of tragedies will unwind, often violently, for years to come. But for now, for the most part it's pictures on TV, not tears and terror on the hearth rug. So the Democrats in Congress aren't too worried about pressure from their antiwar constituents. The awful six-termer Jane Harman faces a primary challenge from Marcy Winograd in Southern California, after a couple of unions defied tradition and endorsed Winograd. Meanwhile, at the other end of the country in Connecticut, Senator Joe Lieberman faced a decidedly cool audience at a big Democratic dinner at the end of March and got bailed out by brother senator Barack Obama from Illinois, who told the crowd to haul out their checkbooks and make sure Lieberman gets returned for another term.

What kind of a signal is this? Here is Obama, endlessly hailed as the brightest rising star in the Democratic firmament, delivering (at a closely watched political dinner, with Lieberman's primary opponent, Ned Lamont, sitting in the crowd) a ringing endorsement of his "mentor," Lieberman, Bush's closest Democratic ally on the Iraq War, one of the architects of welfare "reform" and overall pretty much a symbol of everything that's been wrong with the Democratic Party for the past twenty years. What a slimy fellow Obama is, as befits a man symbolizing everything that will continue to be wrong with the Democratic Party for the next twenty years. Every time I look up he's doing something disgusting, like distancing himself from his fellow senator Dick Durbin for denouncing the torture center at Guantánamo or cheerleading the nuke-Iran crowd.

How many degrees of separation do I have from people without green cards, people who just come across the border, people awaiting relatives coming across the border, the guy behind the bar in an Irish pub, the fellow in the gas station, the woman at the cash register? It's a one-degree world.

Try to pass a bill—as the House of Representatives did—that makes a significant chunk of the population co-conspirators in the commission of a felony, and you're going to get some action. And so they did: half a million in Los Angeles and then the demonstrations and student walkouts that have put maybe 1.5 million on the streets in the past few weeks.

The horrible part of the story is that this is a moment when the antiwar movement should be at full effective stretch. A couple of weeks ago Tony Swindell, a newspaperman in north Texas, wrote to me as follows: "Begin paying attention to stories from Iraq like the very recent one about U.S. Marines killing a group of civilians near Baghdad. This is the next step in the Iraq war as frustration among our soldiers grows—especially with multiple tours. I served [in Vietnam] with the 11th Light Infantry Brigade, Americal Division, and My Lai was not an isolated incident. We came to be known as the Butchers Brigade, and we also were the birthplace of the Phoenix Program."

We're running in our next *CounterPunch* newsletter Swindell's parallel narratives of the United States in Vietnam and what he sees happening now. "There's a numbness in my guts as I see the same nightmares becoming reality again in Iraq and I wonder what's happened to America's soul. Is this what we want, another generation suckled on the poison of another renegade leadership? Gooks have become ragheads, every adult male is an insurgent eligible for torture and every Iraqi home filled with men, women and children is a free-fire zone."

There is some sort of slow-motion semi-mutiny going on in the Democratic Party in bits of the country at the moment, and much of its rather tepid steam comes from the antiwar movement, aghast at the complicity of so much of the Democratic leadership in the war. But set the tempo of this mutiny next to what has been happening in France or on the streets of Los Angeles and, like Swindell, one feels a numbness in one's guts. The peace movement hasn't got fire in its belly. If it had, Obama, the rising star, would have passed up the invitation to pitch for Lieberman, and two-thirds of the crowd would have hissed him when he did. As things are, they gave the new star a big cheer, instead of treating him the way the folks in Lancashire did Condoleezza Rice. Meanwhile, not one Democrat in Congress will stand up for Representative Cynthia McKinney, a victim of racial profiling by Capitol Police right in their own hallway. ■

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ARTICLES

"WE WILL NOT BE THROWN AWAY!"

FRANCE'S STUDENT UPRISING

BY ANGELIQUE CHRISAFIS

Paris

Back in November, when the forests of tower blocks in the Paris suburbs were lit by rioters torching cars, Floréal Mangin woke each morning to count the blackened metal wrecks outside her bedroom window. She watched the gangs of boys in tracksuits and hoods who were setting light to all they could find. They had grown up with her, and some were in her class at school. "They were on self-destruct," she says. "They were destroying their own neighborhood, smashing their families' cars, but they had no other way of telling the world they existed."

Now Mangin, a slight 17-year-old in a sweatshirt with a cartoon on the front, is one of the organizers of a new youth rebellion in the *banlieues*, the suburbs beyond the moat of Paris's ring-road, where its poor and immigrant populations have been traditionally confined. And this time, they will not be ignored. Cars are burning again outside Mangin's classroom in Seine-Saint-Denis. It is places like this—where the youth unemployment of 50 percent is the highest in Western Europe—rather than the cafes of the Latin Quarter that are the motor for what is now being called the 2006 uprising.

On March 8, for the first time since 1968, students occupied the Sorbonne before being tear-gassed out three days later in a dawn raid by riot police. Since then, a whole district of Left Bank Paris has been sealed off behind metal barricades by thousands of RoboCop soldiers from the CRS—the riot police—fearful that the building will become the focus of violent revolt, as it was in '68. Two-thirds of France's universities have been occupied, on strike, blockaded or closed; hundreds of secondary schools have been taken over; and a middle-aged trade unionist, knocked unconscious during clashes between police and rioters, hangs between life and death in a coma. No one knows where this will end—not the teenage suburban *lycée* students, not the university students occupying their campuses, not the embattled poet–prime minister, Dominique de Villepin.

This is not like May '68, when Paris was at the center of a joyous global student revolt against capitalism, imperialism and the Vietnam War, as well as the universities' antiquated regulations. Then, as paving stones were hurled at police, the philosopher-rebels demanded the right to break free from their superiors and live their dreams, chanting, "Under the paving stones, the beach!" Now Mangin, whose father is unemployed, sees nothing under the concrete except more concrete.

She is one of the accidental teenage leaders of France's new student uprising, which began slowly on January 31 and has shaken the country. Mangin is standing with her sixth-form comrades in the engine room of the "movement," a ramshackle warren hidden up a spiral staircase behind a street of halal butchers near Paris's Gare du Nord. It is from these back rooms, littered with pamphlets, that sixth-formers (16 and older) have coordinated in painstaking detail their "actions" to paralyze hundreds of French schools. Every surface is weighted down with the paraphernalia of revolt: spray-paint cans, sheets painted with slogans, megaphones. A fog of smoke hangs in the air as teenagers, fueled by cigarettes and chocolate biscuits, man assembly lines stapling placards. Some have parents who are unemployed, others are at prestigious feeder schools for France's top universities. "This is not a bourgeois movement; this is a movement of the people. The suburbs and the center of the city come together," says an artist's son who is planning to apply to the Sorbonne.

On the surface, this is a strange revolution. It was sparked by opposition to an "easy-hire, easy-fire" contract designed to ease France's crippling youth unemployment. The *contrat première embauche*, or CPE, is a "first employment contract" that the prime minister believes will spur employers to hire young workers safe in the knowledge that they don't have to keep them on. It allows them to fire workers under 26 after two years and without giving a reason, bucking all the traditions of the French paternalistic state, which prides itself on jobs for life. Current employ-

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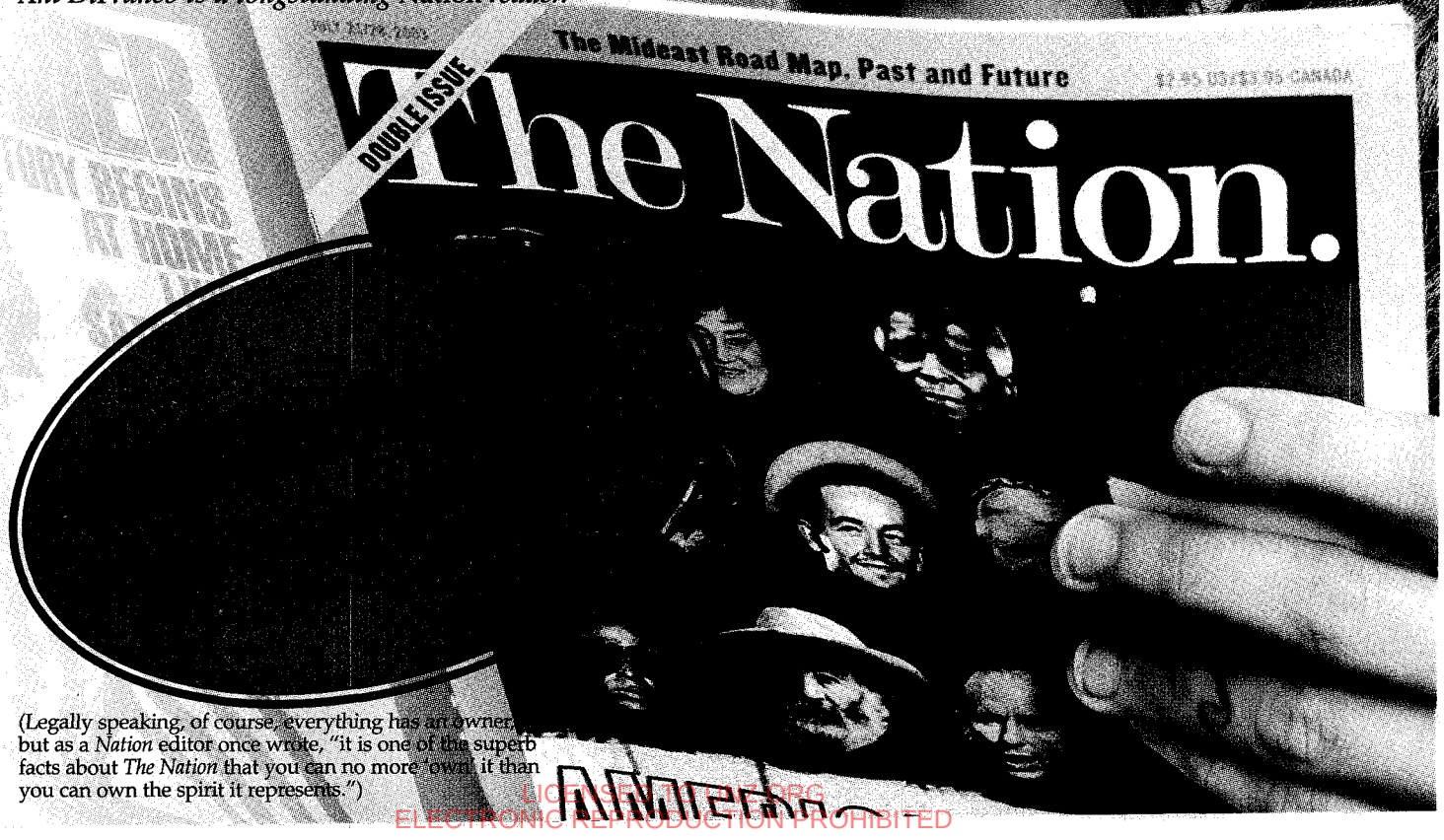
Ani DiFranco is a longstanding* Nation *reader.



(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

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ment terms are prohibitively expensive for small businesses, making them reluctant to take young people on. For young people who already found themselves with no choice but to take some form of short-term contract, the CPE was the last straw.

The young rebels are fighting not for change but for the status quo—they want the same rights and benefits their parents enjoyed. They do not put flowers in their hair but take to the streets with nooses round their necks, carrying mock gallows and coffins, chanting, "We are disposable pieces of shit!"

But the festering anger goes deeper than the CPE. It's fury at what they see as the lie of the Republican ideal of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. This is a country where, because everyone is supposed to be equal, and equally French, ethnic minorities are not counted. But most young people believe that no matter how many degrees you have, your chances of a decent job are nonexistent if you have a non-French name or an address in an immigrant suburb.

'We are not just an "anti" generation. We just want to build our own future.'
—Julie Coudry, student leader

In late March Mangin and her classmates voted to end the blockade of their Seine-Saint-Denis high school when two burning cars were pushed toward the front gates. They see teenage boys traveling with baseball bats to the center of Paris to join otherwise peaceful demonstrations, throwing petrol bombs at police, torching cars, being tear-gassed and hauled off in vans. "It's starting again," she says. "We can feel the burning starting again in the suburbs. It never really went away. The government has done nothing to address the hell of life in the poor suburbs—no jobs, prison, broken homes. And one name gets them back on the street and into a frenzy of fighting—Nicolas Sarkozy," the interior minister and presidential pretender who vowed to clean up the suburbs with a power hose last fall.

As always, the media are looking for a photogenic young revolutionary leader, a modern replica of '68 pinups like Daniel Cohn-Bendit, "Danny the Red." But the teenager who more than anyone is pulling the strings of the schoolyard revolt isn't interested in fame. Karl Stoeckel, 19, could not be further from the romantic, preening revolutionaries of '68. He emerges from his tiny back office in a neat sweater, beige trousers and polished shoes, apologizing for the mess left by his comrades. "The '68 leaders were completely different people," he says. "Maybe they were more romantic. But I would not want to become what they have turned into now. It's a little tragic when you see some of them. They are the greatest capitalists in the world." The leader of France's biggest union of sixth-formers, he has survived on four hours' sleep a night for weeks, going to the barricades to motivate striking schoolkids, sending daily press releases from his office tallying the number of schools that are paralyzed. The fight over numbers is at the heart of the struggle; the education ministry's figure is, inevitably, at least a third less than Stoeckel's.

Stoeckel, who was briefly arrested at a student roadblock, is trying to study in spare moments so he doesn't slip in his *baccalauréat* grades. He wants to study law at one of France's top faculties. Like Cohn-Bendit's, Stoeckel's parents are immigrants: His father is German, his mother Malaysian. His father, an engineer, is now unemployed. "He's over 50. There is age discrimination in France and he can't find a job. He won't really talk about it," Stoeckel says. He believes France is going through a catastrophic period, that people are being left out in the cold. "I am not a revolutionary," he says. "This is not romantic at all—it's important and it's very serious. We are doing this for the future of all the generations who are going to follow us."

Cohn-Bendit, now a member of the European Parliament in Germany, has dismissed the new movement as the "no" generation, with none of the optimism and ideas of the '68 radicals. For once the right in France agrees with him, claiming that Stoeckel's revolution symbolizes all that is wrong in the French psyche. To them, it is students again scuppering the necessary reform governments have tried to introduce for twenty years. The young, they claim, want to remain cocooned in thirty-five-hour-a-week jobs for life, with employment laws that make it almost impossible to get rid of staff.

But Julie Coudry, the photogenic, floppy-hat-wearing leader of the breakaway student confederation, disagrees. To her, the '68 revolutionaries had the luxury of fighting for their dreams because they had comfortable homes and jobs for life awaiting them. "The '68 crowd had a lot of utopia and dreams; now we are having to deal with the reality," Coudry says. "Our generation is saying we are angry that the ['68 students] didn't find a lasting solution. People say we are like Communist or Marxist revolutionaries, but we don't want to cut with economic society.... We are not just an 'anti' generation. We just want to build our own future, and we're ready and waiting to put forward our ideas."

Perhaps the biggest media star to emerge from the protests is Bruno Julliard, the square-jawed and straight-talking head of the largest student union, UNEF, who has taken his place alongside France's union leaders to deliver ultimatums to the government. When a loose coalition of students demanded on March 26 that the whole French government resign, Julliard was careful to distance himself from the call. He took to the airwaves, saying he did not want any "victors or losers" in this battle, just the withdrawal of the CPE. Accused at the start of the protests of spending more time talking to the cameras than talking at the barricades, Julliard, whose mother is a Socialist mayor, sees himself as a public spokesman for a movement that is really being driven by the protesters on the ground.

The question now is where the movement will go. French President Jacques Chirac passed the law on April 2, amending it so that young workers could be fired after one year, not two, and stating that employers must give a reason. The law will not come into effect until the changes are made. Interior Minister Sarkozy has been charged with initiating talks among the government, unions and students, but many think the protests will continue. Trade unions and student leaders estimated that on April 4, 3 million protesters took to the streets across France. One student tells me the anti-CPE movement has become the flag of a "dispossessed generation," sick of a society run by a permanent elite where so many people have no place. Universities are now calling

Angelique Chrisafis is Paris correspondent for the British Guardian, *which ran an earlier version of this article.* *© Copyright Guardian Newspapers Limited 2006.*

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for an amnesty for all rioters who were rounded up in the suburbs after car-burning sprees in the autumn. "They were just making their stand to change society. It is no good locking them up," says one Muslim student at Nanterre, where the '68 revolt began.

Even a Sorbonne degree is no protection from the relentless "daily racism" that many feel permeates French society. Mohammed Konate, a Sorbonne law student who was born in Ivory Coast, says the color of his skin would put him at the back of the queue for jobs. Others say CVs are thrown in the bin if they come from troubled *banlieues*. Yamina, a Moroccan law student at another prestigious Paris faculty, says: "A nonwhite woman? From the *banlieu*? In a head scarf? I don't think the odds are stacked in my favor, do you?"

In 1968 police brutality played a major role in transforming what started as spleen-venting by a few hundred privileged but radical students into a mass movement that threatened to turn French society on its head. Last autumn the riots in the suburbs were sparked by the deaths of two teenagers who were electrocuted after running from police and hiding in an electrical substation. At a March 28 demonstration, new banners appeared, demanding JUSTICE FOR CYRIL FEREZ, a 39-year-old trade unionist lying in a coma since he was struck, according to witnesses, by riot police after a Paris protest on March 18. Pictures of him joshing with the riot police one minute and lying unconscious on the ground the next have stirred protesters.

There is a feeling that France is dancing on a volcano: that if there is a death, if someone is martyred in the protests, things could really erupt. Graffiti on the boulevards of Montparnasse, not far from the huge steel barrier the army erected to seal off the Sorbonne, says ONE COP, ONE BULLET. Sarkozy has warned that the protests could light the kindling of unrest among violent kids from the suburbs. He has poured riot police into the center of Paris, where students have also attacked police, telling his officers to arrest as many people as possible, but warning they will be "judged on their cool." He has broken with his potential presidential rival, de Villepin, in preaching compromise and dialogue, but the young protesters have so far judged him only on the police. The multiracial groups of teenagers from the suburbs who watched plainclothes police grabbing and frisking their counterparts in hooded tracksuits at the March 28 protest clenched their fists in silent rage. The spray paint on the walls of the Latin Quarter reads PUT SARKOZY TO THE WALL.

Outside the metal fortress that surrounds the Sorbonne, where police riot vans still line the cobbled streets, Alexandre Duclos, a 25-year-old PhD student in philosophy, is on the twelfth day of a hunger strike as we go to press. He has tried student sit-ins and street protests; now he is taking a drastic measure against "the army's occupation" of the Sorbonne. "It's not the police—they do their work, they obey orders," he says. "The question is, Who is giving them those orders? This society is extremely fragile. When have you ever seen a sight like this? A Western European army taking over a university, shutting it down and sealing it off behind a steel wall? This movement isn't just about resistance to change and employment law. This society has failed."

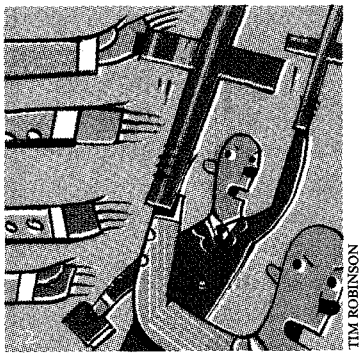
The French postmodernist philosopher Jean Baudrillard has spent his life warning of the dangers of the "media simulated" reality we take for truth. But he saw last autumn's riots and the burning cars as "a sort of eternal flame, like that under the Arc de Triomphe, burning in honor of the Unknown Immigrant," an anger that won't go away. President Chirac may not have a plane waiting on the tarmac, as de Gaulle did to flee in 1968, but it remains to be seen whether his party can calm the storm. ■

AFTER YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS, RELIGIOUS PROGRESSIVES ARE MAKING A COMEBACK.

Taking Back the Faith

DAN WAKEFIELD

Until the wake-up shock of Bush II's reelection, I was one of the great slumber party of mainline American Protestant "liberals" (as we were then still known) whose response to the outrages of those who stole our identity as Christians was the cheap and comfortable scorn and smugger-than-thou ridicule of the disengaged. My own religious-political alarm had begun to ring during the summer before the 2004 election, when I reviewed for *The Nation* Warren Goldstein's biography *William Sloane Coffin Jr.: A Holy Impatience*. The book brought back to me in stirring detail the work of leaders like Reverend Coffin, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Father Daniel Berrigan and their Jewish allies like Rabbi Abraham Heschel in battling racism, unjust war, nuclear proliferation, poverty and threats to civil liberties. I wrote that "their inspiring example raises a disturbing question: Where are their counterparts now?"



TIM ROBINSON

In the past year I put that question to religious leaders and lay people as I traveled around the country trying to understand what has brought us to the political-religious crisis of our time and what, if anything, is being done about it. When asked who is the contemporary equivalent of Coffin, the white Protestant firebrand of civil rights and the anti–Vietnam War movement, several mainline Christians sighed and said, "Well, I guess—Coffin."

Long retired from active ministry and in his 80s, Coffin

Dan Wakefield's latest book is The Hijacking of Jesus: How the Religious Right Distorts Christianity and Promotes Prejudice and Hate *(Nation Books), from which this essay is adapted.*

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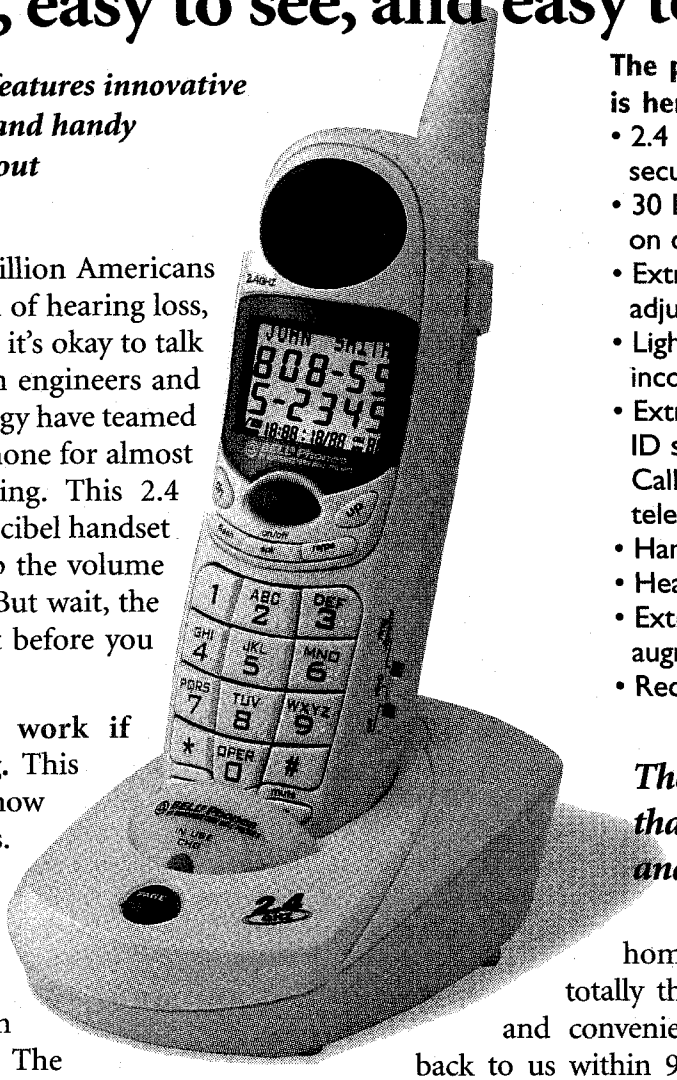

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writes and speaks out against the war in Iraq and the religious right more than most mainline leaders today, though he has suffered a stroke and is largely confined to a Barcalounger by the living-room window of his home in New Hampshire.

Lacking an active Reverend Coffin, several people suggest his potential successor might be his actual successor at New York's Riverside Church, the popular African-American preacher James Forbes. Both of the people who named Forbes live in New York, though; he has done little to make himself known in the nation at large.

One afternoon over tea in the lounge of the Four Seasons Hotel in Boston, I ask a bright young pastor of a mainline Protestant church in an affluent suburb who he thinks is the contemporary Christian counterpart to William Sloane Coffin in the 1960s. After some minutes of silent musing, he shakes his head, then smiles and says, "Rabbi Lerner." This minister is not the only Christian who named Michael Lerner, founder and editor of *Tikkun*, a Jewish and interfaith magazine, as the person who is doing the most significant work in opposing the religious right's theft of the meaning and the message of Christianity for the political power of the neocon Republican con men.

The most consistent answer to my question is the Rev. Jim Wallis, whose barnstorming book tour for his bestselling *God's Politics* took him to fifty-six cities in twenty weeks and brought him into question-and-answer sessions with crowds of 1,000 to 2,000 people at a time. Michael Lerner's new book, *The Left Hand of God*—which turns out to be almost a companion volume to *God's Politics*—is on target to elicit a similar grassroots response.

The unlikely duo of Lerner and Wallis, a rabbi and an evangelical Christian, are the names most often cited in my homemade, unofficial poll of Christians looking for leadership in opposing the religious right not only with words but also with deeds. But they are not forming any kind of partnership except in the sense of being friendly allies who have similar goals. Both men are known as loners, and they don't even agree on the way to go about reaching their common goal of opposing the power of the religious right. While Lerner wants to form a "spiritual left," Wallis doesn't want to use the term "left," or even "progressive," and least of all "liberal" in his own work.

At this stage, however, as the first meaningful response to the religious right is finally taking form, terminology—left, middle or center and red, white or blue—is not the most crucial issue. There's no debating what flag you will fly until you have ammunition, troops and a battle plan, a strategy.

Wallis tells me:

> Bill Moyers and others say, "You've helped put out a progressive religious message—not just a progressive political message—now you've got to institutionalize this." So we're talking about a media platform that would involve some kind of radio—we're in discussions with people in radio about a progressive religious show or regular commentaries. Also, I do a lot of op-ed pieces, and we're going to see if one of the syndicates would like a weekly commentary from me on the whole area of religion, values and ethics. We'll use the Internet very heavily, with much more streaming, much more using speaking events. That's kind of the "air war." James Dobson of Focus on the Family is out there on 3,000 stations a day, and you need to have a response—not specifically to him, but to have an alternative voice.

Wallis, Lerner and other religious progressives are up against a long-entrenched and formidable foe, especially on radio and TV. The Republican activist Paul Weyrich told a group of neocon advisers Bush had brought to the White House that they had no excuse for failing to get their message out. "There are 1,500 conservative radio talk-show hosts. You have Fox News. You have the Internet, where all the successful sites are conservative. The ability to reach people with our point of view is like nothing we have ever seen before."

Wallis realizes that even if he gets a toehold in radio and television, it's only a start. "You can't just be on the air and in the media, so we've been having extensive conversations at our magazine *Sojourners* and at our Call to Renewal movement about organizational strategies. We've had lots of other organizations and groups come by who'd like to make alliances and partnerships, so we're talking about a pastors' network, a congregational network."

I ask Wallis if he has any plans for trying to do the kind of grassroots political work the religious right has done so successfully in getting people elected to school boards and local offices. "I've met lots of local elected officials," he says, "who have a progressive faith perspective—state senators and representatives, mayors, school board commissioners. They've urged us to have a gathering for state and local officials. We'd have hundreds for such a conference. I've got former students from Harvard running for office around this agenda, running for city councils already, and some of them are going to be running for state offices. The right does it in an overtly partisan way, almost like a power bloc within the Republican Party. I see us doing more like a civil rights movement kind of thing, rather than what the Christian Coalition did. We want to build a movement around issues like poverty and hold politicians accountable, more than just joining the political party and trying to gain power within the party."

* * *

"We realize this time it's an all-hands-on-deck situation."
—Dave Robinson, director of Pax Christi, the Roman Catholic progressive movement for peace and justice

The jacket of Robert Edgar's suit is off, and his shirt is crisp and white, his tie straight, his glasses clear. Before becoming general secretary of the National Council of Churches (NCC), Edgar was a six-term member of the House of Representatives, the first Democrat in more than 120 years to be elected from the heavily Republican Seventh District of Pennsylvania. He also served as a minister to Methodist congregations and as a college chaplain before coming to New York in 2000 to run the NCC from his office in "the God Box," a building on Upper Broadway that serves as headquarters for the NCC and a number of Protestant denominations.

"We've been Sleeping Beauty," he says, "but the actions of the Bush Administration to force us into war in Iraq was the

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kiss that woke us up." One result of the wake-up, Edgar says, is the website started by the NCC, called FaithfulAmerica.org. "Is that in response to the religious right?" I ask. Edgar sighs:

> Almost everything we do is in response to the religious right. They have done an excellent job over the last forty years in silencing moderate to progressive voices. We're trying to be silent no more, we're trying to stand up when they're telling us to sit down, and we're trying to speak out when they tell us to be silent. Here we're using some new energy and techniques to go after those who are trying to take us down the wrong road.
>
> We watched how MoveOn.org and Working Assets and other advocacy groups have formed, and about a year ago we said, Can't we invent that same kind of technology for the faith communities? In May of last year we had 2,000 e-mail addresses, and now there are over 125,000 who we talk to about once every ten days.
>
> Churches that stand for something grow. Not just conservative churches but liberal churches that take the Gospel seriously are increasing in membership. But many of our pastors haven't figured that out yet.

I ask if some ministers today are fearful of speaking out because of the current atmosphere of divisiveness and the

Looking for Salvation in All the Wrong Places

The overwhelming power of conservative Christians in the current Administration is deeply disturbing. But equally disturbing is the call that has gone out to what is now called "progressive religion" to counter the conservative Christian view of what God wants with a different list of God's desires. The loudest call has come from the Democratic Party, which is undergoing its own scourging rituals. Religionists themselves are outraged by the way fundamentalists have hijacked their God. Memories of the important role played by religious leaders in the civil rights and antiwar movements are cited as proof of the good religion has to offer to the progressive agenda. And, of course, the post–2004 election obsession with "moral values" has enlarged the public space open to progressive religious voices.

The temptation to try to fight fire with fire is understandable. Conservative religious thought has had such a long free ride in the media that it is presupposed to be the true expression of religious belief. Progressives who speak out get covered only when they are the man-bites-dog story. Witness the hurrahs and amazement that greeted an evangelical Christian coalition that took the remarkably benign step of accepting the overwhelming evidence of scientists that global warming is real. At the same time, religious leaders who speak out against the war in Iraq or against draconian budget cuts get very little coverage, since the media still believe religious advocacy for peace and the poor is to be expected and is thus not news.

But there is much that is new—and bears watching—in the way progressive religion is operating these days. Political progressives and just plain old garden-variety Democrats are so desperate to be saved that they seem willing to accept unthinkingly the notion that progressive religion is not only the antidote to right-wing religion but also that progressive God-talk is the best way to express moral values. I sat in silence in the office of a Democratic senator last year as she told me she wanted to get up on the floor of the Senate and ask, "What would Jesus do about the budget? What would Jesus do about unemployment?" There seemed to me to be something seriously wrong with an elected official of a nonreligious state seeking to shape legislation according to anyone's interpretation, however loving and justice-seeking, of what God wants.

In this context, it would seem that moral values—and the freedom to interpret what any one of us may think God wants—is best protected by a deep ethical commitment to the secular state, defined as a state in which the moral authority of government is derived from the consent of the people rather than the President's link to or intuition about God. Legislators need to be asking what the people want and not what God wants.

This commitment to the secular state has long been challenged by the religious right, which considers itself a "victim" of the bicoastal liberal secular elites who want to drive religion into the sea. Sadly, as religious progressives have gained ground they have taken up this drumbeat. One repeatedly hears liberal religious leaders complain of how they have been ignored by the Democratic Party, the scorn with which academics and scholars have treated their ideas and the outright rejection they've faced from feminists.

Now, these personal perceptions and hurts might best be relegated to one's therapy sessions if they were not so indicative of the enduring belief of many religionists that there is something special about their views that lifts them above other systems of moral inquiry and policy agendas. Ideas about justice and human dignity that are asserted in the name of God are not sacrosanct in the public square. Demanding that they be justified in rational, fact-based terms and that they serve the common good is not religion-bashing. It is what we demand of all public voices. And given the enormous damage that has been and is being done in the name of God, progressive religious voices should be especially sensitive to the danger that unexamined God-based public policy presents, whether it comes from the right or the left wing of religion.

In the end, religious leaders at their best are not policy wonks, message gurus or campaign consultants. They stand at the margins of power, with the powerless, seeking to change the status quo. Dorothy Day, Martin Luther King Jr., William Sloane Coffin and the Berrigan brothers did not have a seat at the table and did not want it. To the extent that today's progressive religious leaders act out of that tradition, there is hope. If, on the other hand, they play the ancient role of theological adviser to princes and kings, we may all get more than we bargained for.

FRANCES KISSLING

Frances Kissling is the president of Catholics for a Free Choice (www.catholicsforchoice.org).

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intimidation by the Bush Administration and their religious right followers. "Absolutely," says Edgar.

> The question I ask is: How do you instill courage and the ability to risk in pastors today? In the 1960s there were a number of pastors willing to be fired over the war in Vietnam and the issues of segregation and civil rights. I see a negative trend recently that many pastors are waiting to retire or don't want to rock the boat in their congregations. They love to tell Bible stories as opposed to taking their spiritual gifts out of the Scripture and relating them to life and work issues. Ministers are under that kind of threat, balancing their call by God to their vocation to the poor and nonviolence and justice with the practical call of where do they get the money to pay their mortgage—it's a serious challenge.

I ask if there's anyone comparable now, in liberal religion, to William Sloane Coffin. Edgar says:

> There's a cluster of people who meet every Thursday by telephone. It just started in the last two years, with Jim Wallis, Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund, David Beckman of Bread for the World, George Regas, who was pastor of the big Episcopal Church in Pasadena, Jim Forbes of Riverside Church. The problem with liberals is we don't follow very well. We brand our organizations instead of our issues; the religious right is better at branding their issues. We've changed over the last three years, and said there really are only three issues—poverty, environment, justice. All others are important, but we have to brand those issues until we actually see changes in the trend lines on poverty, on the healing of the earth.

"What about the war in Iraq?" I ask. Edgar replies:

> It's first... I led a delegation to Baghdad, and we sent delegates to talk with Tony Blair, Schröder, Putin, Chirac and the Pope. Three thousand five hundred people gathered on Martin Luther King's holiday in 2003 to oppose the war, before any body bags were coming back. It was held at the National Cathedral in Washington, and another event at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. With Vietnam it took years to get opposition to the war, but here before it started most religious leaders were opposed to war—except our conservative colleagues, who were reading the Scriptures through the eyes of Armageddon.
>
> We fell asleep in the 1970s, laughed at the early formation of the Moral Majority—we didn't take them seriously. Now the Methodists have a $2 million campaign to try to get people to come to their churches.

The Episcopalians and the United Church of Christ also have recruitment campaigns, using TV advertising. Now mainline Protestantism has discovered the Internet, whose most successful websites are operated by the churches and organizations of the religious right, which has had them up and running for years. They rule the radio airwaves, and as for television, Jan Love of the Methodist Women's Division says:

> Twenty years ago, the mainline Protestant churches made a decision not to get heavily into television—and that was stupid. We didn't know how stupid at the time. Bob Edgar has got us on the Internet. He has also organized meetings with high-level Christian leaders and progressive movements across the country, trying to see if there's a common strategy that can be articulated across the denominations. Bob Edgar is at the heart of those things. And Bill Moyers has helped pull one of these together.

Bob Edgar's work has stirred the religious right to label him "Antichrist," which now must be a term of honor among spiritual progressives.

Baptist minister Bill Moyers began the new academic year at Union Theological Seminary in the fall of 2005 by invoking the ghosts of the great teacher-scholars who made that place the bastion of liberal theology—Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr. Moyers said their heritage was now at risk:

> Listen quietly on such an occasion as this and you can hear that chorus of voices—the legions who have passed this way—calling us back to prophetic witness.... They are saying, "Union, religion has bowed again to power and privilege. Stand for justice—and the faith that liberates God from partisan agendas."

Grassroots groups around the country have not required the ghosts of Tillich and Niebuhr to galvanize them; the words of Bush, Rumsfeld, Frist, Falwell and Robertson have been frightening enough to raise the opposition of ordinary citizens against the current political/religious regime that has led us to war and near national bankruptcy while invoking a God who stands for war on foreign countries as well as on the middle and lower classes of our own country.

A group of citizens led by a healthcare worker rallied in front of the First Baptist Church of Jacksonville, Florida, in August 2005 to deliver a "declaration to the leaders of the religious right," saying, "You do not speak for us or for our politics. We say 'No' to the way you are using the name and language of Christianity to advance what we see as extremist political goals." The group was organized four months earlier as the Christian Alliance for Progress (CAP) and held its rally in front of a church ministered by Pastor Jerry Vines, a local Falwell-Robertson clone who had made headlines in 2002 for calling the Prophet Muhammad "a demon-possessed pedophile."

The group's protest against the religious right, locally symbolized by Pastor Vines, immediately brought support for CAP from Professor Omid Safi, a co-founder of the Progressive Muslim Union and professor of philosophy and religion at Colgate University, who said the positions taken by CAP reflected those of the PMU. "I think groups like this should be working hand in hand," he said. CAP founder Patrick Mrotek, a healthcare-management consultant, says the group has recruited community organizers in twenty cities across the country and will also join and support the work of Wallis's Call to Renewal movement.

The Rev. George Regas, in his twenty-eight years as rector of All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, California (whose numbers qualify it as a "mega-church"), led his congregation to oppose the Vietnam War, the nuclear arms race and the Gulf

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War and to support a whole range of human needs, such as an AIDS service center. After retiring from the ministry, he founded and serves as director of Interfaith Communities United for Justice and Peace.

Reverend Regas tells me:

> Some people say the reason mainline churches have lost membership is they were too much involved in peace and justice work—I think they've declined because they haven't done it enough! They've been too timid in that commitment, and that's not attractive to anyone. The mainline is timid today—there was a day when it wasn't. In those days we weren't facing a religious right—it wasn't part of the story at all. It's sure a new day now. But we can't compete with the religious right if we have no financial resources. At least there's a consciousness now in the mainline churches that we have to change and create our own.

Dave Robinson of Pax Christi says: "I think that this is a very hopeful time for progressive religious groups in our country. The events of the past four years have energized some of our traditional groups and have also given birth to new, exciting efforts within the progressive religious community."

Perhaps most significant will be a new group of progressive evangelicals, led by Jim Wallis and his Call to Renewal group, and other leaders who want no part of the Falwell-Robertson rhetoric or politics. They're calling it Red Letter Christians, alluding to the words of Jesus in many versions of the New Testament, which are printed in red type. The name also avoids identifying the group with any political party. These politically liberal dissidents make up as much as 35 percent of the evangelical movement, amounting to millions, according to Tony Campolo, professor emeritus at Eastern University in St. Davids, Pennsylvania, and a popular evangelical author and speaker.

These movements are serious, sincere and dedicated; the meetings of Christian leaders called by Bob Edgar are hopeful, the rhetoric of Wallis and Lerner is inspiring, and even more positive, they are taking concrete action.

Then look at all these efforts next to just one example of the way the religious right is already arming and organizing for the next battle: In August 2005 a website appeared that launched the Ohio Restoration Project, whose purpose is to enlist thousands of "Patriot Pastors" to get out religious right voters for the 2006 elections. The Columbus minister who heads the project calls these midterm Congressional elections a battle between "the forces of righteousness and the hordes of hell."

At the same time, the people they call "the hordes of hell"—the representatives of mainstream religion from the NCC—were still trying to agree on a common strategy. Part of the strategy that remains a conundrum to most progressive religious leaders is not only how to avoid the blows from the armies of the right but also how to overcome the hostility of people who ought to be their allies on the secular left but treat them with scorn, condescension or indifference.

A young man in Boston came up to Wallis after one of his bookstore talks and said, "I'm gay, and I want to thank you for

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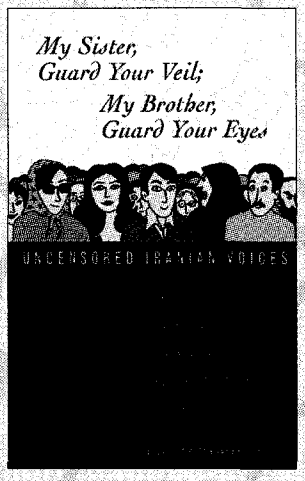

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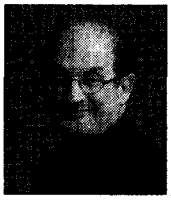

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making me feel welcome tonight. But you know, it's easier to come out being gay in Boston than it is coming out as religious in the Democratic Party."

The African-American attorney Van Jones, founder and executive director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in Oakland (which challenges human rights abuses in the prison system) wrote on the Internet: "It is still commonplace to hear so-called radicals stereotyping all religious people as stupid dupes—and spitting out the word 'Christian' as if it were an insult, or the name of a disease. I thought progressives were supposed to be the standard-bearers of tolerance and inclusion."

Former Massachusetts Attorney General Scott Harshbarger, an adviser to Union Theological Seminary, says:

> You don't go into a liberal community and talk about your faith and your prayers—they snicker. So in divorcing it you lose track of it, you forget why we should care about social justice—is it just so we could be fair? What's the underlying principle of equality? We didn't talk about the values that underlie policy—why are we against racism, poverty? A lot of these issues I believe in come from my religious upbringing.

A majority of Americans have had some kind of religious upbringing, and 90 percent of them say that they believe in God. The Democratic Party and progressive politicians and activists need not adopt their faith, but they had better take that belief into account if they hope to regain national power in the years to come. ■

THE LEFT'S MOST POWERFUL WEAPON COULD BE A SPIRITUAL VISION OF THE WORLD.

Bringing God Into It

MICHAEL LERNER

After the 2004 election, I met with a funder who was interested in supporting projects that could counter the growth of the right. The meeting was going well until I showed her a poster for an upcoming conference on fostering progressive spiritual activism. Her eye fell on one workshop, which was called "God and the Economy: How Can Making a Living Become Sacred Work?" "Why do you have to bring God into this?" she asked angrily.

TIM ROBINSON

Perhaps she forgot I was a rabbi, but what did she think a spiritual answer to the religious right would look like? Couldn't one of the twenty workshops mention God and speak to concerns of people who take their religious lives seriously?

In my research on the psychodynamics of American society I discovered that the left's hostility to religion is one of the main reasons people who otherwise might be involved with progressive politics get turned off. So it becomes important to ask why.

One reason is that conservatives have historically used religion to justify oppressive social systems and political regimes. But this can't be the whole answer, since it's not as if the left has never seen anyone misuse its own ideas to serve hateful and repressive purposes, from the Terror during the French Revolution to the Stalinist gulag in the Soviet Union. Another reason is that many of the most rigidly antireligious folk on the left are themselves refugees from repressive religious communities. Rightly rejecting the sexism, homophobia and authoritarianism they experienced in their own religious community, they unfairly generalize that to include all religious communities, unaware of the many religious communities that have played leadership roles in combating these and other forms of social injustice. Yet a third possible reason is that some on the left have never seen a religious community that embodies progressive values. But the left enjoyed some of its greatest success in the 1960s, when it was led by a black religious community and by a religious leader, Martin Luther King Jr.

So I am led to the conclusion that the main reason that underlies the left's deep skepticism about religion is its members' strong faith in a different kind of belief system. Even though many people on the left think of themselves as merely trying to hold on to a rational consciousness and resist the emotionalism that can contribute to fascistic movements, it's not true that the left is without belief. The left is captivated by a belief that has been called scientism. As a religious person, I rely on science to tell me about many aspects of the physical world in which I live, and in the new organization I've founded with Cornel West and Benedictine Sister Joan Chittister, called the Network of Spiritual Progressives (www.spiritualprogressives.org), we have developed an eight-point Spiritual Covenant with America in which one of the eight planks is about defending science from interference by the state, religion or the capitalist marketplace. We'll be presenting the covenant to Congress during our Spiritual Activism Conference, May 17–20 in Washington.

Science, however, is not the same as scientism—the belief that the only things that are real or can be known are those that can be empirically observed and measured. As a religious person, I don't rely on science to tell me what is right and wrong or what love means or why my life is important. I understand that such questions cannot be answered through empirical observations. Claims about God, ethics, beauty and any other face of human experience that is not subject to empirical verification—all these spiritual dimensions of life—are dismissed by the scientistic

Rabbi Michael Lerner is the editor of Tikkun *magazine. This article is adapted from his latest book,* The Left Hand of God (HarperCollins).

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worldview as inherently unknowable and hence meaningless.

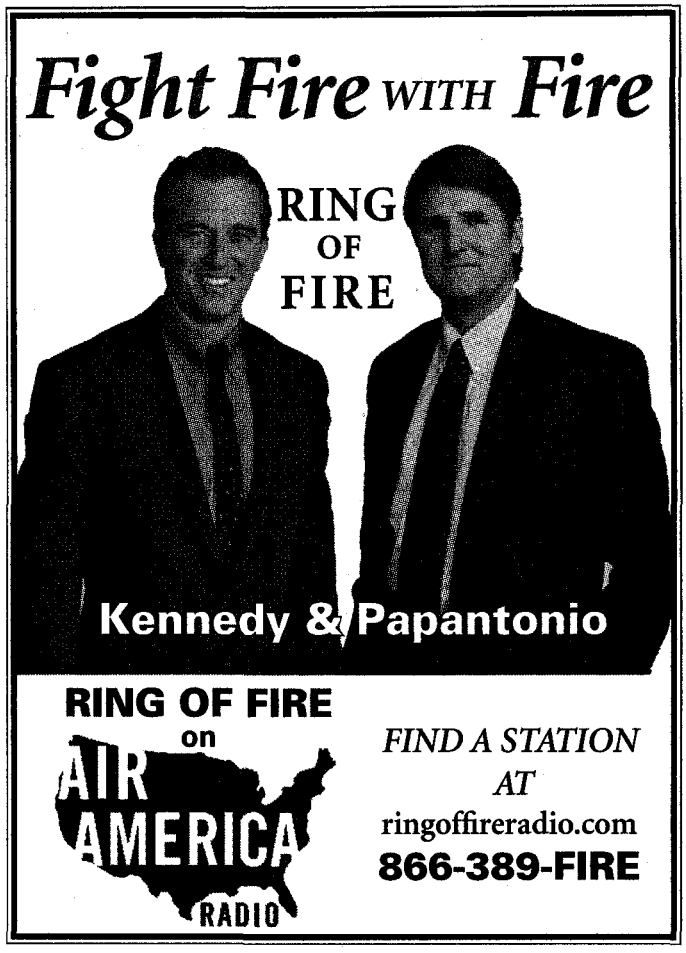
Scientism thus extends far beyond an understanding and appreciation of the role of science in society. It has become the religion of the secular consciousness. Why do I say it's a religion? Because it is a belief system that has no more scientific foundation than any other belief system. The view that that which is real and knowable is that which can be empirically verified or measured is a view that itself cannot be empirically measured or verified and thus by its own criterion is unreal or unknowable. It is a religious belief system with powerful adherents. Spiritual progressives therefore insist on the importance of distinguishing between our strong support for science and our opposition to scientism.

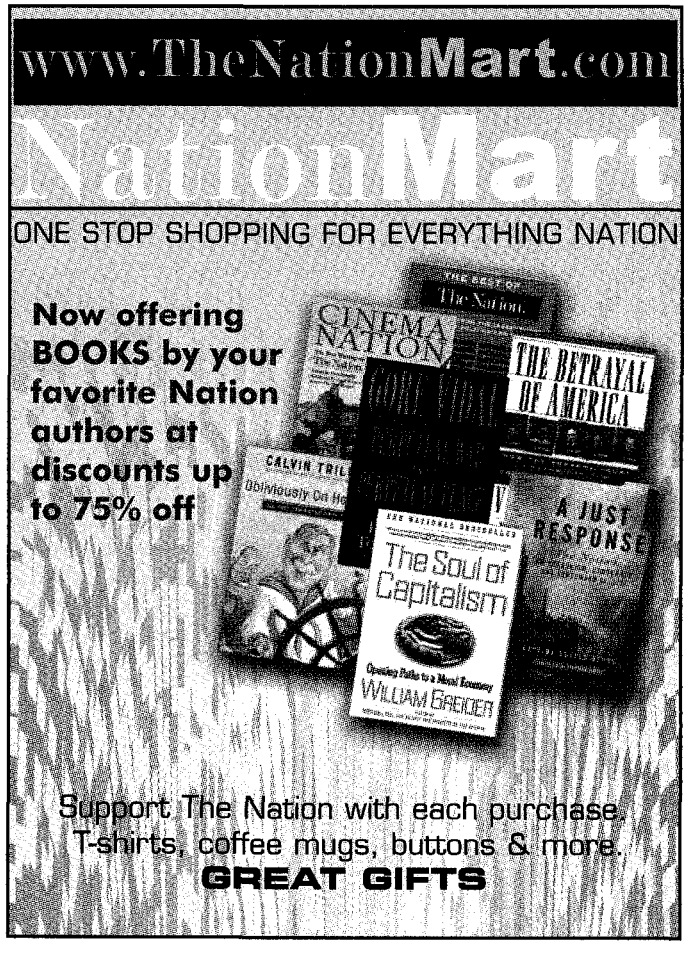
So why has the left become so attached to scientism? The left emerged as part of the broad movement against the feudal order, which taught that God had appointed people to their place in the hierarchical economic and political order for the good of the greater whole. Our current economic system, capitalism, was created by challenging the church's role in organizing social life, and empirical observation and rational thought became the battering ram the merchant class used to weaken the church's authority. Many of Marx's followers thought they were merely drawing out the full implications of their new worldview when they adopted a scientistic approach that not only dismissed God and spirit as being without empirical foundation but also reduced all ethical and aesthetic judgments to little more than reflections of class interests.

The idea that people are only motivated by material self-interest became the basis for a significant part of what we now call the political left, or labor movement, and the Democratic Party ("It's the economy, stupid"). But in the research I did with thousands of middle-income working-class people, I found that there was a pervasive desire for meaning and a purpose-driven life, and for recognition by others in a nonutilitarian way, and that the absence of this kind of recognition and deprivation of meaning caused a huge amount of suffering and could best be described as a deep spiritual hunger that had little to do with how much money people were making. Granted, most people on the left would probably agree, in the abstract, that money can't buy love (or meaning). But when it comes down to the choices they make in trying to formulate goals for a union or a political party or a social change organization, they often revert to their deeply internalized materialistic assumptions, which leads them to deny the potential efficacy of addressing the "meaning" needs.

The truth is that most people on the left already have a set of moral principles that guide their lives and have led them to be Democrats or Greens or social change activists. But their scientistic worldview makes them feel slightly embarrassed to acknowledge and articulate those values. And the intense skepticism about religion and spirituality on the left makes them reluctant to talk in a language that could be seen as inherently religious or spiritual. In this, they are reflecting a long history of indoctrination into the scientistic assumptions of the dominant secular society, assumptions that have shaped our educational system, permeated our economic marketplace and been internalized as "sophisticated thinking" by the self-appointed (and capital-sustained) arbitrators of culture.

The public sphere is currently dominated by a scientism

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that validates money and power (which can be measured) and steadfastly rejects the introduction of spiritual values. But since that public sphere generates a deep spiritual emptiness and validates an ethos of materialism and selfishness, the religious right gains huge credibility by challenging the alleged neutrality of the public sphere and insists on introducing values. But what it really has in mind is to impose Christianity and undermine the separation of church and state. If the left could recognize that the capitalist marketplace already imposes a set of values in the public sphere, it would understand that the most effective way to combat the challenge of the religious right is not to fight for values neutrality in a public sphere already fully permeated by the values of materialism and selfishness but instead to introduce a set of spiritual values with progressive content. That is why we in the Network of Spiritual Progressives are calling for a New Bottom Line: institutions, corporations, legislation and social practices should be judged efficient, rational and productive not only to the extent that they maximize money and power (the empirically verifiable dimension) but also to the extent that they maximize love and kindness, generosity and compassion, ecological and ethical behavior, enhance our capacities to respond to other human beings as inherently (and not just instrumentally) valuable, and to respond to the universe with awe, wonder and radical amazement at the grandeur of all that is. With these values, we could counter the right and save the First Amendment.

This New Bottom Line is the essence of a spiritual politics, and the Network of Spiritual Progressives that advocates for it is a movement not only of people who believe in God but also the many "spiritual but not religious" people who share a recognition that the spiritual dimension of reality has to be brought into the center of progressive politics. And yes, we want these values—not the capitalist values that currently describe themselves as "neutral" or the values of the religious right—to shape our public life. But keeping all values out of the public sphere is a nonstarter because it fails to recognize that there already are values built into every economic and political and educational and legal institution in our society—and that they are the capitalist values that cause so much pain to people in daily life.

I don't mean that the secular left ought to give up its secularism. I am not suggesting that a secularist should convert to some particular religion in order to garner popularity and win votes. What I do mean is that a leftist secularist ought to approach other belief systems with a greater spirit of humility, recognizing that secularism is one possible answer among many to the question of how to understand the universe and how to live one's life. Secularism is not "the rational approach" but "*a* rational approach" among other rational approaches. To be effective, a social change movement will need to make a place for everyone who shares the same political values, even though they may belong to different religious traditions or hold different philosophical positions. Speaking from a religious perspective should be normal in political meetings or at public events sponsored by the left—and the left should work as hard to create an inclusive feel for this as it does to include any other constituency.

The secular left consistently disarms itself of what could be its most powerful weapon: a spiritual vision of the world. I've used the word "spiritual" as a label to identify a meaning-oriented approach to politics. Its focus is on the yearning of human beings for a world of love and caring, for genuine connection and mutual recognition, for kindness and generosity, for connection to the common good, to the sacred and to a transcendent purpose for our lives. Understand human history and contemporary society and individual psychology from the standpoint of these needs and the ways they have been frustrated, and then develop a strategy that addresses those needs, and we will be able to build a movement and a political party that will be in a position to bring about all the good things liberals and progressives have fought for with such limited success over the past 100 years. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

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civil rights movement. It forces him to ignore times when unions have given support to a broader progressive politics, as when the UAW helped organize the 1963 March on Washington and sent bail money to the civil rights protesters locked in Birmingham jails, or the support that unions give today to living-wage campaigns across the country. Relying on a vision of unions as monopolies, Fitch claims that the periods of growth in US labor history came when unions "competed" for workers, but in fact it's not clear that "competition," instead of improved legal and political conditions, was responsible for the expansion of unions in the Progressive Era and the 1930s and '40s. Fitch argues that the fragmented, localized structure of unions is to blame for the desperate predicament of working-class Americans, but his book does not help us understand how and why this structure, to the extent that it exists, came into being. He says little about the role of business attacks on unions in shaping the labor movement, either in the early years or today, when European unions no less than US ones must confront a climate of mounting hostility.

All these examples are complex: to understand how unions have dealt with race, for example, we must look both at the long history of racism in American labor and the support of unions like the UAW for the civil rights movement. But that's my point: History is complicated. Fitch could have used his voluminous research to write a book that really shed light on the history of union corruption, assessing its influence on the development of labor and the reasons unions have proved susceptible to it. Instead, he wrote a one-note history, relying on the rhetoric of "monopoly unionism," also beloved by the right, in which mob infiltration and the failure of unions to broadly support national healthcare stem from an identical source.

Finally, I'm not sure what to make of Fitch's claim that I misstate his attitude toward union shops. He writes that to revive labor, "the prime features that have to be scrapped are all those features that preempt consent: compulsory membership, exclusive representation, closed shop, 'union security.'" He may mean that he doesn't support right-to-work laws but instead envisions reborn unions that eschew these policies. But he argues that union shops are "despotic," that they create conditions that breed corruption and that they destroy the ability of labor to effectively organize and represent members. I understand why he wants to distinguish his position from that of right-to-work proponents—who usually argue that they don't object to good unions, even though the objective of the businesses that fund right-to-work efforts is to keep wages and benefits down by weakening all unions. But his assumptions, language and analytic framework are all very close to theirs.

KIM PHILLIPS-FEIN

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Inside Man

PERRY ANDERSON

AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy.
By Francis Fukuyama.
Yale. 226 pp. $25.

Three years into the war in Iraq, with no end in sight, soul-searching has broken out in the foreign policy establishment. Second thoughts about the invasion are now a library. Among these, few have received wider coverage than Francis Fukuyama's. The fame of the author of *The End of History and the Last Man* is, of course, one reason. The *frisson* of an illustrious defection from the ranks of neoconservatism is another, no doubt more immediate one. But to take *America at the Crossroads* simply as a political straw in the wind—although, of course, it is also that—is to diminish its intellectual interest. This lies essentially in its relation to the work that made Fukuyama's name.

The argument of *America at the Crossroads* falls into three parts. In the first, Fukuyama retraces the origins of contemporary neoconservatism. His story begins with a cohort of New York intellectuals, mostly Jewish, who were socialists in their youth but rallied to the flag during the cold war and then stood firm against the New Left when the United States was fighting Communism in Vietnam. In due course, out of their milieu came a social agenda too: the critique of welfare liberalism developed in *The Public Interest*, edited by Irving Kristol and Daniel Bell. Meanwhile, moral reaction against the laxity of the 1960s was being lent philosophical depth by Leo Strauss in Chicago and cultural zip by his pupil Allan Bloom. Military understanding and technical expertise were provided by nuclear strategist Albert Wohlstetter, theorist of counterforce missile capacity and prophet of electronic warfare. Fukuyama explains that in one way or another he was personally involved in all of these enterprises. But his account of them is calm and balanced, and if anything understates the potency of the political cocktail they represented. His emphasis falls rather on their ultimate confluence with broader and more popular currents of conservatism—belief in small government, religious piety, nationalism—in the base of the Republican Party. Together, this was the political torrent that powered the rise of the Reagan presidency.

But the greatest triumph of the conservative ascendancy—victory in the cold war—contained, he suggests, the seeds of what would become the undoing of neoconservatism. For the fall of the Soviet Union bred overconfidence in the ability of America to reshape the world at large. Exaggerating the role of US economic and military pressure in the sudden collapse of the USSR, which in reality was decaying within, a younger levy of thinkers—William Kristol and Robert Kagan are singled out—came to believe that tyranny could be felled and liberty planted with comparable speed elsewhere. It was this illusion, according to Fukuyama, that led to the attack on Iraq. Ignoring not only the quite different political landscape of the Middle East but also the warnings of the original neoconservatives against overly voluntarist schemes of social engineering, the projectors of the invasion have saddled the United States with a disaster from which it will take years to recover. Needless resort to a unilateral force has isolated America from world opinion, above all its European allies, weakening rather than strengthening the US position in the world.

With his new book, Fukuyama has defected from the neoconservative movement, which once regarded him as an invaluable asset.

Fukuyama devotes the rest of his book to the outline of an alternative foreign policy that would restore America to its rightful place in the world. A "realistic Wilsonianism," tempering the best of neoconservative convictions with a more informed sense

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of the intractability of other cultures and the limits of American power, would retain the need for pre-emptive war as a last resort and the promotion of democracy across the globe as a permanent goal. But it would confer with allies, rely more often on soft than hard power, undertake state-building in the light of social science and encourage the spread of new, overlapping forms of multilateralism, bypassing the deadlocks of the United Nations. "The most important way that American power can be exercised," Fukuyama concludes, "is not through the exercise of military power but through the ability of the United States to shape international institutions." For what they can do is "reduce the transaction costs of achieving consent" to US actions.

In the tripartite structure of *America at the Crossroads*—capsule history of neoconservatism; critique of the way it went awry in Iraq; proposals for a rectified version—the crux of the argument lies in the middle section. Fukuyama's account of the milieu to which he belonged, and its role in the run-up to the war, is level-headed and informative. But it is a view from within that contains a revealing optical illusion. Everything happens as if neoconservatives were the basic driving force behind the march to Baghdad, and it is their ideas that must be cured if America is to get back on track.

In reality, the front of opinion that pressed for an assault on Iraq was far broader than a particular Republican faction. It included many a liberal and Democrat. Not merely was the most detailed case for attacking Saddam Hussein made by Kenneth Pollack, a functionary of the Clinton Administration. What remains by a long way the most sweeping theorization of a program for American military intervention to destroy rogue regimes and uphold human rights round the world is the work of Philip Bobbitt, nephew of Lyndon Johnson and another and more senior ornament of the national security apparatus under Clinton. Beside the 900 pages of his magnum opus, *The Shield of Achilles*, a work of vast historical ambition that ends with a series of dramatic scenarios of the coming wars for which America must prepare, the writers of *The Weekly Standard* are thin fare. No neoconservative has produced anything remotely comparable. Nor was there any shortage of lesser trumpeters on the liberal end of the spectrum—the Ignatieffs and Bermans—for an expedition to the Middle East. There was no illogic in that. The Democrats' war in the Balkans, dismissing national sovereignty as an anachronism, was the immediate condition and proving ground of the Republicans' war in Mesopotamia—genocide in Kosovo only a little less overstated than weapons of mass of destruction in Iraq. The operations of what Fukuyama at one point allows himself, in a rare *lapsus*, to call the "American overseas empire" have historically been bipartisan, and continue to be so.

In the Republican camp, moreover, neoconservative intellectuals were only one, and not the most significant, element in the constellation that propelled the Bush Administration into Iraq. Of the six "Vulcans" in James Mann's authoritative study on who paved the road to war, Paul Wolfowitz alone—originally a Democrat—belongs to Fukuyama's retrospect. None of the three leading figures in the design and justification of the attack, Rumsfeld, Cheney and Rice, had any particular neoconservative attachments. Fukuyama is aware of this, but he offers no explanation, merely remarking that "we do not at this point know the origins of their views." What, then, of his own location within the galaxy he describes? Here—it must be said that this is uncharacteristic—he smooths out the record. With a misleadingly casual air, he says that while he started out "fairly hawkish on Iraq" at a time when no invasion was envisaged, when one was later launched he was against it.

In this his memory has failed him. In June 1997 Fukuyama was a founder, alongside Rumsfeld, Cheney, Dan Quayle, Wolfowitz, Scooter Libby, Zalmay Khalilzad, Norman Podhoretz, Elliott Abrams and Jeb Bush, of the Project for the New American Century, whose statement of principles called for "a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity" to "promote the cause of political and economic freedom abroad." In January 1998 he was one of the eighteen signatories of an open letter from the project to Clinton insisting on the need for "willingness to undertake military action" to secure "the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power," and declaring that "the US has the authority under existing UN resolutions to take the necessary steps" to do so. Four months later, he was among those denouncing the lack of such action as a "capitulation to Saddam" and an "incalculable blow to American leadership and credibility" and spelling out just what measures against the Baath regime were required: "We should help establish and support (with economic, political, and military means) a provisional, representative and free government" in "liberated areas in northern and southern Iraq" under the protection of "US and allied military power." In other words: an invasion to set up a Chalabi regime in Basra or Najaf, and to topple Saddam from this base.

Under Bush, the project—its ranks now swollen by such stalwarts as Democratic veteran Stephen Solarz and Marshall Wittmann, now of the Democratic Leadership Council—returned to the attack, and Fukuyama was again to the fore in pressing for an onslaught on Iraq. On September 20, 2001, little more than a week after 9/11, he appended his signature to a blunt demand for war that waved aside any relevance of links to Al Qaeda and did not even bother to raise the specter of WMD:

> It may be that the Iraqi government provided assistance in some form to the recent attack on the United States. But even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack, any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. Failure to undertake such an effort will constitute an early and perhaps decisive surrender in the war on international terrorism. The United States must therefore provide full military and financial support to the Iraqi opposition. American military force should be used to provide a "safe zone" in Iraq from which the opposition can operate. And American forces must be prepared to back up our commitment to the Iraqi opposition by all necessary means.

For good measure, the signatories added that "any war against terrorism must target Hezbollah" and prepare for "appropriate measures of retaliation" against Syria and Iran as its sponsors.

To recall this campaign for blood and steel in the Middle East is not to single Fukuyama out for special incrimination. Congress, after all, would give the green light for war on Iraq with virtually complete bipartisan unanimity. But Fukuyama's deeper implication in the drive to Baghdad than he would now have us believe raises an important question: Why, if he was originally so committed to the adventure in Iraq, did he later break so sharply over it with his erstwhile intellectual allies? The disasters of the occupation are, of course, the most obvious reason—all kinds of creatures, large and small, jumping off the ship as it tilts lower in the waters. But this cannot be the principal explanation of Fukuyama's change of mind. He says he had lost belief in an invasion before the war started, and there is no reason to doubt

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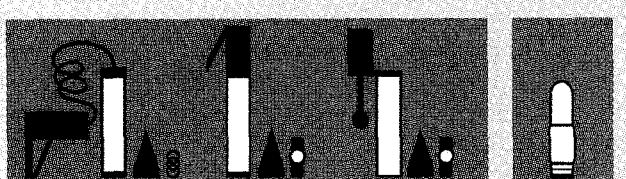

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him. Moreover, disillusion with the lack of practical success in an enterprise regarded as commendable in principle has been common enough among conservatives, without leading to the kind of historical critique and dissociation Fukuyama has embarked upon. It would have been quite possible to say Operation Iraqi Freedom has gone wrong, even that in retrospect it was a mistake from the beginning, without writing an obituary of neoconservatism. What suddenly put such distance between Fukuyama and his fellow spirits?

Two factors of division can be deduced from *America at the Crossroads*, and the essay on "The Neoconservative Moment" in *The National Interest* that preceded it. Fukuyama did not share the same degree of commitment to Israel as his Jewish colleagues. In *The National Interest* he complained not of actual subordination of American to Israeli objectives in the Middle East but rather of a mimesis of the Israeli outlook on the Arab world among too many of his companions. Applying a mailed fist to the region might well be rational for Tel Aviv, he remarked, but was not necessarily so for Washington. His criticism was tactful enough, but it met with a vehement response. Replying, Charles Krauthammer charged Fukuyama with inventing a "novel way of Judaizing neoconservatism," less crude than the slanders of Pat Buchanan and Mahathir Mohamad but equally ridiculous—moving Fukuyama in turn to object to imputations of anti-Semitism. Evidently burned by this exchange, and aware of the general delicacy of the topic, Fukuyama does not revert to it in *America at the Crossroads*, explaining that the mindset he had criticized, "while true of certain individuals, cannot be attributed to neoconservatives more broadly" and offering the olive branch of general support for the Administration's policies toward Palestine. Behind the politesse, it is doubtful if his reservations have disappeared.

Another consideration, however, has certainly been more important. It was a trip to Europe in summer 2003, Fukuyama has explained, that opened his eyes to the dismay felt by many of even America's staunchest admirers at the unilateralism of the Bush presidency. The disappointment expressed by such a pillar of Atlanticism as the editor of the *Financial Times* was sobering. Could a foreign policy that so alienated our closest allies be really worth it? Unlike Israel, which after Fukuyama's initial disclaimer scarcely figures in *America at the Crossroads*, Europe looms large. Fukuyama voices the utmost alarm about its reactions to the Bush Administration. The rift caused by the war in Iraq is no mere passing quarrel, he believes. It is a "tectonic shift" in the Western alliance. With millions on the streets, "Europe had never before appeared as spontaneously unified around a single issue as this one, which is why former French finance minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn labeled the demonstrations the 'birth of the European nation.'" Anti-Americanism is rampaging across the Atlantic, and placing the unity of the West at risk.

In Fukuyama's view, the rift caused by the war in Iraq is no mere passing quarrel but a 'tectonic shift' in the Western alliance.

Though such fears are now widespread, they bear little relation to reality. European hostility to the war is broad but not deep. The invasion was widely opposed, but once consummated has not given rise to much further protest. Demonstrations against the occupation have been few and far between, in stark contrast with the global wave of protest sparked by the war in Vietnam. The British government that joined in the American attack has not been punished at the polls. The German government that opposed the invasion was soon helping out behind the scenes, providing information on targets in Baghdad and assistance with CIA renditions. The French government, taxed by Fukuyama with double-crossing the United States in the Security Council, in fact told the White House to go ahead without a new resolution, and has worked closely with Washington to install suitable regimes in Haiti and Lebanon. All stand united on Iran. European hostility to the current presidency is more pique than conniption. What has grated is indifference to diplomatic niceties, and insufficient homage of acceptable vice to ostensible virtue. Elites and masses alike are attached to the veils that have traditionally draped compliance with American will and resent a government that has discarded them. Grievances of this kind, a matter of style rather than substance, will pass with a return to decorum. A Clinton restoration would no doubt see a swift and rapt reunion of the Old World with the New.

Here Krauthammer was more clear-eyed than his critic. Dismissing Fukuyama's anxiety that US foreign policy is in jeopardy because it has lost international legitimacy, he remarked with justice that what threatens it is not any lack of EU certificates or UN resolutions—it has plenty of such rubber stamps, as he notes—but the Iraqi insurgency. It is the will of the resistance that threatens the Bush Doctrine. The rest is weak ripple effect. Without the *maquis*, European opinion would be no more troubled by the seizure of Iraq than it was by that of Panama.

Fukuyama's misreading of European sentiments is now conventional. His view of Islamic fundamentalism, on the other hand, is refreshingly unconventional, at variance with both his own milieu and mainstream wisdom. Compared with the great historic antagonists of capitalist democracy, Fascism and Communism, Al Qaeda and its affiliates are a minuscule force. Other than by somehow getting hold of weapons of mass destruction, they have no chance of inflicting serious damage on American society, let alone becoming a global threat to liberal civilization. Proclaiming a generalized "war against terrorism" is a pointless inflation of the punctual operations needed to stamp out the handful of fanatics who dream of a new Caliphate. Panicking over this relatively minor threat risks major miscalculations and is to be avoided, above all by Americans, who since 9/11 risk further attacks less than do Europeans, with their larger enclaves of Muslim immigrants.

This is a belated lucidity, after so much crying of havoc in the open letters, but it is one more typical of the note struck in Fukuyama's writing, whose tone is generally cool and unruffled. Its judgment takes us back to the logic of his larger work as a whole. The celebrated argument of *The End of History and the Last Man* was that with the defeat of Communism, following that of Fascism, no improvement on liberal capitalism as a form of society was any longer imaginable. The world was still full of conflicts, which would continue to generate unexpected events, but they would not alter this verdict. There was no guarantee of a rapid voyage of humanity from every corner of the earth to the destination of a prosperous, peaceful democracy based on private property, free markets and regular elections, but these institutions were the terminus of historical development. The closure of social evolution now in view could not be regarded as altogether a blessing. For with it would inevitably come a lowering of ideal tension, perhaps even a certain *tedium vitae*. Nostalgia for more hazardous and heroic times could be foreseen.

The philosophical basis of this construction came, as Fukuyama explained, from the reworking of Hegel's dialectic of

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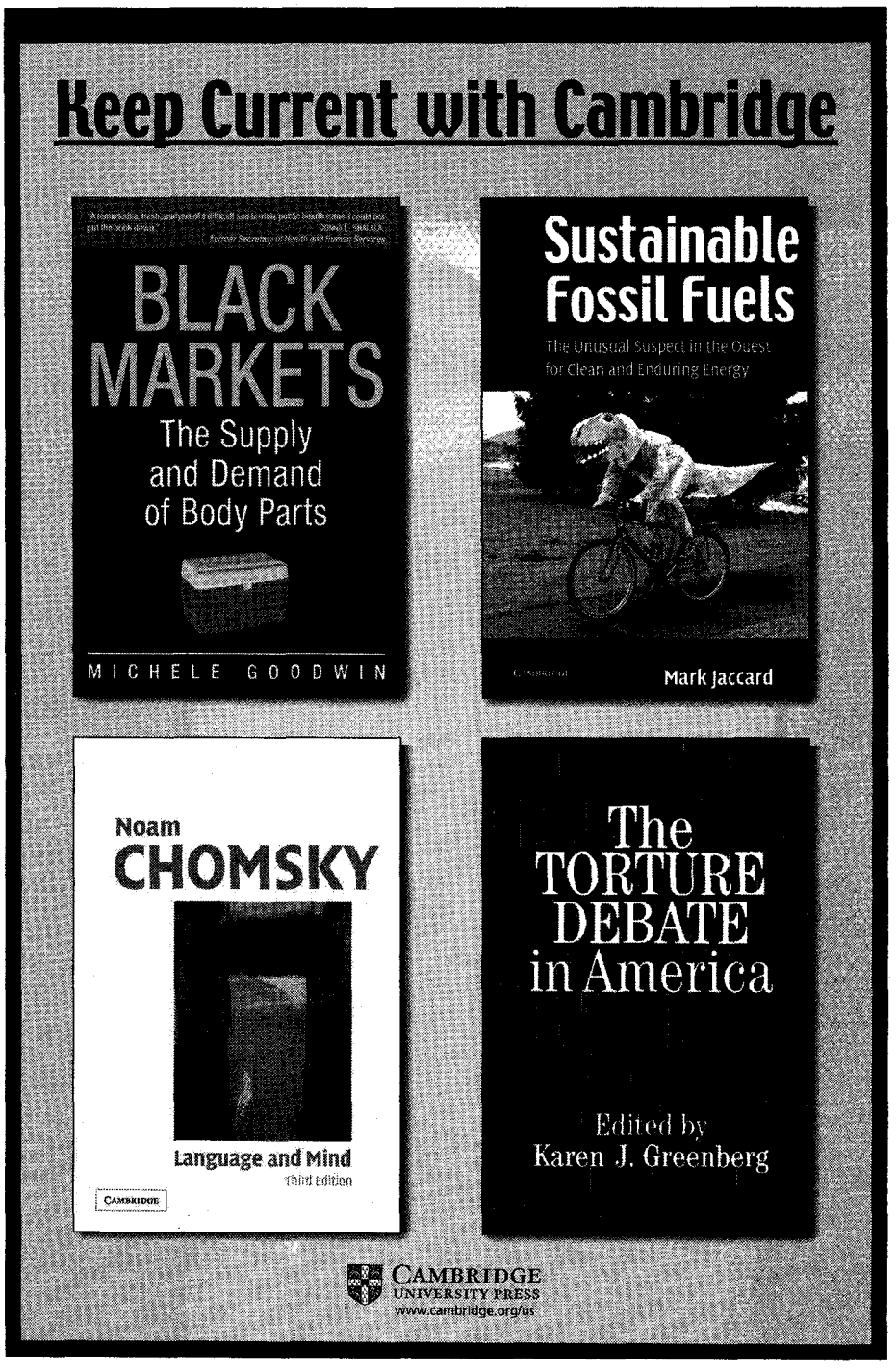
recognition by a Russian exile in France, Alexandre Kojève, for whom centuries of struggles between masters and slaves—social classes—were on the brink of issuing into a definitive condition of equality, a "universal and homogeneous state" that would bring history to a halt: a conception he identified with socialism, and later with capitalism, if always with an inscrutable irony. Fukuyama adopted this narrative structure but grounded it in an ontology of human nature, quite alien to Kojève, that was derived from Plato and came—along with a much more conservative outlook—from his Straussian formation. Kojève and Strauss had valued each other as interlocutors and shared many intellectual reference points, but politically—as well as metaphysically—they were very distant. Strauss, an unyielding thinker of the right, had no time for Hegel, let alone Marx. In his eyes, Kojève's deduction from their conceptions of liberty and equality could only presage a leveling, planetary tyranny. He believed in particular regimes and natural hierarchy.

There was, as a consequence, always a tension in Fukuyama's synthesis of his two sources. In the final years of the cold war, when his joining of them took shape, this could remain hidden, because the universal interests of democratic capitalism were consensually guarded, without significant strain, by a Pax Americana. Americana: There was no significant contradiction between the free world and US hegemony. But once Communism had been eradicated in Russia and neutered in China, a new situation arose. On the one hand, there was no longer a common enemy to compel other capitalist states to disciplined acceptance of US command. But at the same time, the disappearance of the USSR increased the global reach of the American state enormously. Thus, just when the hegemon was objectively less essential for the system as a whole, subjectively it was bound to become more ambitious than ever before, as now the world's single superpower. In these conditions, it was inevitable that the general requirements of the system would at some point diverge from the operations of the singular nation-state at its head. This is the context in which *America at the Crossroads* should be understood. For Fukuyama's break with neoconservatism has occurred at the fault line between the two. At the center of the book is an extended attack on American "exceptionalism," by which he means the doctrine that "the United States is different from other countries and can be trusted to use its military power justly and wisely in ways that other powers could not." This is the delusion broadcast by Kristol and Kagan, he argues, that has antagonized allies and led to the overweening errors of the war in Iraq.

Politically, Fukuyama's loyalties were formed in a Straussian matrix. But intellectually, the imprint of Kojève went deeper, supplying his master narrative. Forced by alterations of the strategic landscape to choose between the logic of the two, Fukuyama has allowed his head to prevail over his heart. If he has taken leave of the company of neoconservatives, it is because the war in Iraq has exposed a genealogical difference between them. In origin, his leading ideas were European, as theirs never were. Kojève indeed regarded the creation of a supranational Europe as the decisive reason a globalizing capitalism, rather than a still nationally cramped socialism, had turned out, contrary to his original expectations, to be the common destination of humanity. For Strauss, on the other hand, whose earliest allegiance was to Zionism, regimes were by nature particular: He was impervious to universal schemes. Though he was no great admirer of American society, he respected the Founders and seeded an ardently nationalist school of constitutional thinkers. The options of the different neoconservative heirs re-



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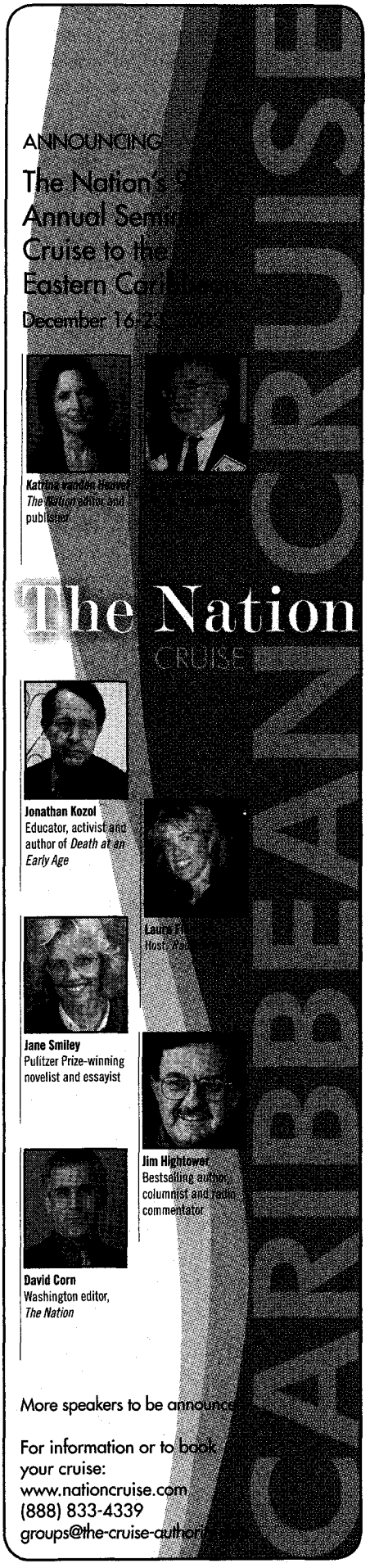

flect their respective ancestries.

Not that either side repudiates the preoccupations of the other, which remain common to both. Rather, it is the way these are combined—the balance struck between them—that sets the two apart. Kristol and Krauthammer may be American patriots, but they are second to none in their commitment to the spread of capitalist democracy around the world: In that respect, few universalisms are as aggressive as theirs. Vice versa, Fukuyama may criticize US exceptionalism, but he has certainly not relinquished the national portion of his inheritance. His new journal is not called *The American Interest* for nothing. Krauthammer calls his outlook "Democratic Realism," while Fukuyama terms his own vision "Realistic Wilsonianism." A distinction without a difference? Not exactly—rather an inversion in which the nouns indicate the primary, and the adjectives the secondary, allegiances. For the neoconservative core, American power is the engine of the world's liberty: There neither is, nor can be, any discrepancy between them. For Fukuyama, the coincidence is not automatic. The two may drift away from each other—and nothing is more likely to force them apart than to declare that they cannot do so, in the name of a unique American virtue unlikely to persuade anyone else. As he puts it: "The idea that the United States behaves disinterestedly on the world stage is not widely believed because it is for the most part not true and, indeed, could not be true if American leaders fulfill their responsibilities to the American people. The United States is capable of acting generously in its provision of global public goods, and has been most generous when its ideals and self-interests have coincided. But the United States is also a great power with interests not related to global public goods." Denial of this obvious truth leads to policies that damage American interests and do not deliver global goods: See Baghdad.

How are these then best reconciled? Fukuyama remains fully committed to the American mission of spreading democracy round the world, and the use of all effective means at the disposal of Washington to do so. His criticism of the Bush Administration is that its policies in the Middle East have been not only ineffective but counterproductive. The promotion of internal regime change by the right mixture of economic and political pressures is one thing. Military action to enforce it externally is another, conducive to misfortune. In reality, there is no sharp dividing line between the two in the imperial repertory. Fukuyama forgets the successful overthrow of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, of which Robert Kagan is the major historian—a triumph of political will that we can be sure Fukuyama applauded at the time. Today, in the wake of Iraq, he is concerned to distance himself from such forms of activism. He now explains there is no universal craving for freedom that insures democracy will emerge wherever a society is liberated from tyranny. Modern liberty typically requires certain levels of economic and social development for the habits needed to sustain it. These cannot be created overnight, but must be carefully nurtured over many years. Nor will neoliberal recipes relying on market incentives alone bring the necessary order and prosperity. For these a strong state capable of "good governance" is the essential condition, and a sensible American policy will often give precedence to fostering such state-ness over building democracy in the more dangerous parts of the world.

In the service of this revision, Fukuyama disfigures his original construction. *The End of History and the Last Man*, he assures us, was actually an exercise in modernization theory. All he said was that a desire for higher living standards—not liberty—was universal, and that these created a middle class that tended to seek political participation, with democracy eventually emerging as a byproduct of this process. This banalization of a complex argument in the philosophy of history is not just an effort to simplify its message for a wider audience; it has a bowdlerizing impulse. In the work that made Fukuyama's name, the quest for recognition and the promptings of desire—driving respectively the struggle for equality and the advance of science—were the two motors of history. The concatenation between them was never quite pulled off in the theory, generating significant disjunctures toward the end of the story. But in the structure of the narrative as a whole, Fukuyama's assignment of their respective significance was unequivocal; the "desire that lay behind the desire" of economic man was "a totally non-economic drive, *the struggle for recognition*." It was the political dialectic so unleashed that was "the primary motor of human history." The mental universe of Alexandre Kojève was a long way from that of modernization theorists like Daniel Lerner and Gabriel Almond.

If this vision now appears to be something of an encumbrance for Fukuyama, perhaps that is because it was a theory of mortal conflict. Hegel and Kojève were,

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each in his own time (Jena, Stalingrad), philosophers of war. Their legacy is too agonistic for the purposes of drawing a line between the newfound caution of the statecraft Fukuyama now recommends and the democratic hypomania of former friends at the *Standard*. The platitudes of modernization theory are safer. But there is a price to be paid for the drop in intellectual level to "Nation-Building 101"—the title, without excessive irony, of one of Fukuyama's recent essays. As a run-of-the-mill social scientist, he is never less than competent. There is even, in his criticism of free-market recipes for development in poor countries, and in his call for strong public authorities, what could be read as a memory trace of his Hegelian formation: the idea of the state as the carrier of rational freedom. But the miscellaneous proposals with which *America at the Crossroads* ends—greater reliance on soft power, more consultation with allies, respect for international institutions—are of a desolating predictability, the truisms of every *bien-pensant* editorial or periodical in the land. The most that can be said of them is that in offering a bipartisan prospectus for the foreign policy establishment, they seal a well-advertised vote for Kerry and understanding with Brzezinski, who co-edits *The American Interest* with Fukuyama. There is not the faintest suggestion in these pages of any basic change in the staggering accumulation of military bases around the world, or the grip of the United States on the Middle East, let alone symbiosis with Israel. Everything that brought the country to 9/11 remains in place.

It is enough to look at the devastating essay on the Israel lobby by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt in the *London Review of Books*—significantly, in no domestic publication—to see the enormous gulf between strategic Muzak of this kind and genuinely critical reflection on American foreign policy, from thinkers who have earned the title "realist." After starting his book under the aegis of Wilson, who brought the gospel of democracy to the peoples of the earth, Fukuyama ends it by enlisting Bismarck, who knew how to practice self-restraint in the hour of victory, as inspiration for his "alternative way for the United States to relate to the rest of the world." What the Iron Chancellor, who had a grim sense of humor, would have made of his pairing with the Fourteen Points is not difficult to imagine. In such prescriptions, of Fukuyama and so many others today, America is not at any crossroads. It is just where it has always been, squaring the circle of philanthropy and empire to its own satisfaction. ■

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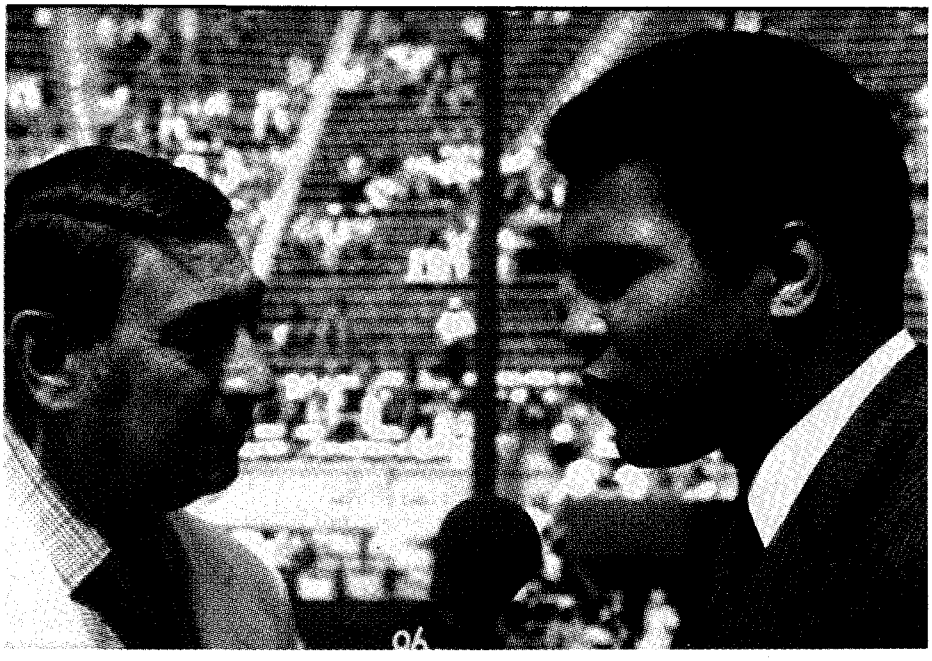

TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

The Odd Couple

GENE SEYMOUR

SOUND AND FURY: Two Powerful Lives, One Fateful Friendship.
By Dave Kindred. Free Press. 368 pp. $27.

Watch TV sports long enough and you'll reach that point in life when you know they're no longer selling the beer to you. It's that midlife slide off advertisers' demographic radar that you're feeling. Nothing you can do about it and no reason, really, to feel any remorse. At least now, if you're no longer within that golden 18-to-35 age range, you can retain some pride in knowing that your life intersected with a glorious, audacious era of televised sporting events when the channels were fewer, special events lived up to the hype and someone like Howard Cosell actually existed.

Try explaining to twentysomethings who Cosell was and why he mattered. They can relate only to a global village of 24/7 sports stretched like pizza dough along dozens of cable channels, websites and "talk radio" stations. In a heyday that roughly ran from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s, Cosell was practically alone as a motormouthed churl of electronic sports journalism. Now the airwaves are saturated with know-it-alls trying to surpass one another in amplified outrage. But however much they may spritz and kvetch about salary caps, steroids and jock etiquette, the professional grumps now embedded in what sportswriter Robert Lipsyte indelibly labeled "SportsWorld" must know deep down that Cosell invented them all, that they flourish today, for better and worse, because of a labor lawyer from Brooklyn who, despite a grating nasal twang, a pouchy face tailor-made (as the wags like to say) for radio and a toupee that even Richard Pryor couldn't resist milking for cheap laughs, brandished the kind of flash-point notoriety usually claimed by renegade rock stars. He was huckster and muckraker, malcontent and cheerleader, iconoclast and show horse, provocateur and carnival barker. With such contradictions in play, it's little wonder that Cosell was found by some public polls to be America's most beloved and most hated sports broadcaster. Even sports fans predisposed to Cosell's patented cocktail of awe and incredulity could get exasperated enough with him to declare, as Wilfrid Sheed once did, that "the story of Howard Cosell is basically the history of a nervous system."

Still, eleven years after Cosell's death, you would figure enough time has passed to smooth over some of the animosity he aroused in his lifetime and allow a measured assessment of his thorny legacy. Sportswriter Dave Kindred's *Sound and Fury: Two Powerful Lives, One Fateful Friendship* meets this task at least halfway by placing Cosell's life story in context with the biggest ongoing story of his—or anyone else's—career: Muhammad Ali. Both Ali and Cosell came into prominence at roughly the same time—and at the right time for both. The 1960s seemed created for brash, outsized personalities such as theirs to prosper and flourish. By the time the decade was over, the charismatic, charming, loquacious boxer formerly known as Cassius Clay was the Most Famous Man in the World. And Cosell, described in his salad days by his future boss, ABC sports president Roone Arledge, as a "strange creature who'd wandered the nation's locker rooms with a thirty-pound tape recorder strapped to his back, interviewing anyone who'd talk to him," had become Humble Howard, designated gadfly of ABC's Monday Night Football and culture hero (or villain) for publicly supporting Ali's right to retain the heavyweight championship stripped from him because of the fighter's refusal to report to the Army for induction in the midst of the Vietnam War.

Sound and Fury has a ready-made audience in those old enough to fondly remember catching Most Famous and Humble on TV together for two decades, each man baiting and teasing the other, jabbing at the inflated balloons of their respective egos. "They were," Kindred writes in his preface, "their own sight gag, the handsome athlete shimmering alongside the homely fellow with the bad toupee. They sounded funny because Ali spoke simply while Cosell's language was that of a sesquipedalian trained at law and infected by grandiloquence born of pomposity." One remembers how Ali would taunt, "I made you, Cosell!" He would go further, telling Cosell in 1977, "You know you need me more than I need you. That's why I come in to do this show. Keep that in your mind with all your smart questions."

Kindred doesn't disagree—at least, not totally: "Without Ali engaging his liberal social conscience, Cosell would never have found his truest voice," he writes, adding, "and without the embrace of Cosell and the American Broadcasting Company when other networks wanted nothing to do with him, Ali could have been dismissed as a cultural-fringe aberration." It's questionable whether Ali could have ever been a "fringe" anything. He was so much larger than life that it seems almost unfair to use his life as a prism through which Cosell's own considerable stature can be evaluated.

Still, one can only wonder (to deploy a

Gene Seymour, a film critic at Newsday, *is a contributor to the* Oxford Companion to Jazz.

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Cosellian rhetorical device) whether *Sound and Fury* contributes anything radically new to what's already known about Muhammad Ali, especially in its brisk recounting of events leading to his 1964 title bout with Sonny Liston and the tumultuous events surrounding it: the conversion to Islam, the rupture with Malcolm X, the 1965 rematch with Liston and that controversial first-round knockout from a deceptively light right-hand punch. Ali said afterward he'd learned that punch from—wait for it—Stepin Fetchit, who in turn said he'd learned it from Jack Johnson. By Kindred's account, Cosell was as nonplussed by this disclosure as everyone else who heard it at the post-fight press conference.

Here and throughout the book, Kindred is shrewd and graceful in bringing Cosell and Ali in and out of each other's career paths. Because relatively little is known about Cosell's ascendancy compared with Ali's, the book seems more enlightening, more revelatory when it brings up such matters as Cosell's involvement in a groundbreaking TV documentary in the mid-1960s about the football program at then little-known historically black Grambling College. Jerry Izenberg, the documentary's producer, said that film defined Cosell as "the black man's white man."

Just as crucial to this image was the moment in May 1966 when Cosell, while interviewing Ali, was called out by the fighter for saying he was "also known as Cassius Clay." Abashed, Cosell said, "You are quite right. I apologize. Muhammad Ali is your name. You're entitled to that." At that moment, Kindred writes of Cosell, "He had chosen sides, if implicitly, in those arguments about race, religion, politics, and war that were dividing Americans' opinions on Ali." Both the boxer and the broadcaster were in relatively uncharted waters. Sports in the United States was still considered a refuge from discussions on race, politics, religion and war. And now this odd couple of Jew and Muslim, who seemed to have little in common besides audacity and self-aggrandizement, were shifting the paradigm for how athletic competition was discussed in America's living rooms. Between the two of them, separately and apart, they helped make it safe to speak of sports and societal change in the same context. They were hardly alone in this. Many sportswriters, including the aforementioned Lipsyte, Izenberg and Kindred himself, helped bring more iconoclasm and incredulity to chronicling games and the people who play them. But television was now the 800-pound gorilla in the temple of sports, and its relative size seemed enhanced by what the book describes as this "fateful friendship" of two opposites.

If, that is, one could call it a friendship. For all the good-natured banter and joshing that characterized the Ali–Cosell act, even Kindred is not sure his subtitle can be taken literally. "Theirs was a partnership, more than a friendship," he writes. "In truth both men were so self-absorbed as to be blind to the other's needs except as those needs met their own." (One supposes the same could be said of another twentieth-century media-star package, Martin and Lewis, only without the latter couple's acrimony and bitterness.) As much as Kindred may celebrate Cosell's risky impulse to back Ali's right to refuse military induction, he is conscientious enough to note that in none of the broadcaster's four memoirs does Cosell take a position "pro or con on Ali's opposition to the Vietnam War, or on the war itself, for that matter." He also notes that "Cosell, the nonobservant Jew" never expressed an opinion in those books on the Nation of Islam ideology Ali practiced and preached during the late '60s. Cosell may have seemed a rebel when measured against the stodgy gee-whiziness that prevailed over televised

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sports. But as Kindred notes, he was cunning enough in the ways of commercial television to stand closer to Ali than other broadcasters were willing to do without having to defend any of Ali's views on race, religion or politics.

Sound and Fury also teases out a nagging paradox embedded in Cosell's persona. He never stopped railing at what he perceived as SportsWorld's terminally inflated sense of its own importance. "Do you think that I, at fifty-two years of age, and at the peak of my intellectual prowess, am going to spend the rest of my days worrying whether [Dallas Cowboys quarterback] Roger Staubach's shoulder will heal in time for the Washington game?" he rhetorically asked in 1972. But as often as he groused about sports' triviality in relation to more pressing issues of global poverty and war, he could still impose his own bluff gravitas on a botched field goal or an RBI as if it were the Second Coming. Television critic Michael Arlen, in an essay titled "Neutrality at the Empty Center" from his 1976 collection, *The View From Highway 1*, singled out a typical Cosell excoriation on Monday Night Football ("Kilmer has been having trouble all evening finding deep receivers"): "There is a grudging, edgy quality buried in the voice—a sense of...belligerent emotions being slipped into this unimportant sentence, as if to somehow blow it into life and conceal the emptiness at the center."

Cosell's griping about sports seemed just as hollow. Kindred notes how Cosell ripped into David Remnick, now *The New Yorker*'s editor, for wasting his Princeton education on a sportswriting career at the *Washington Post*. Remnick reminded Cosell that he was using his law degree on sports journalism. Cosell replied, "Yes, but I have made fucking millions." To unsympathetic ears, such declamations marked a convergence of arrogance and duplicity.

But there was genuine passion beneath the bellicosity that, when aroused, could sell more than just a game. The book describes the process through which Cosell helped assemble a half-hour documentary about his friend and idol Jackie Robinson hours after the pioneering baseball player died in 1972. Toward the end of a nerve-wracking process, Cosell was told that the program needed a forty-five-second "wrap-up." Cosell complied with the request without having to write any copy. "He did it live and to the second," Kindred writes. "And once more he rendered Jack Roosevelt Robinson human, proud, unconquerable." Such precise, spontaneous invention was what separated Cosell from his peers. And while it's thrilling to read about such moments, it might have been even more thrilling to read just what it was that Cosell was able to wring spontaneously, lucidly and touchingly from his head on the spur of the moment.

Still, Kindred is descriptive enough in both his personal reminiscences and his reporting to compensate for such omissions. He knew both Ali and Cosell well enough to appreciate their complex temperaments without letting these men off the hook for their displays of hubris, especially toward the twilight of their glory days. The book shakes its head sadly over the way Ali pressed his luck beyond reason in his penultimate bout against Larry Holmes in 1980 while looking over at the melancholy and bitterness that began overpowering Cosell at about the same time. When framed against Cosell's alliances with Robinson, Ali and other African-American sports renegades, there's unbearable irony over this "black man's white man" catching hell in 1983 over a woozy description of a Washington Redskins receiver named Alvin Garrett as a "little monkey" on Monday Night Football. He still made valuable contributions to sports journalism as anchor for ABC's *SportsBeat* newsmagazine, a precursor to HBO's award-winning *Real Sports With Bryant Gumbel*. But the show vanished from the airwaves in 1985, and the subsequent deterioration in the health of the book's two principal subjects makes their "parallel lives" more synchronous than they were beforehand.

There remain people who have never forgiven Cosell or Ali for the stands they took forty-plus years ago. There are people now who can't forgive either man for helping create the present sports universe of trash-talking, in-your-face athletes and commentators with big heads and bigger mouths. But blaming Cosell and Ali for this chatter and clutter is about as useful as blaming Richard Pryor for inspiring generations of comics who can talk a bright blue streak while totally missing his impeccable sense of pathos. Or blaming Jimi Hendrix for spawning guitarists who can play louder and faster than he can but can't match his facility with basic blues changes. Whatever the spillover from their egos, however glaring their contradictions, Ali and Cosell both recognized that there were bigger things in life than sports. A lot of twentysomethings awash in beer ads, game highlights and processed swagger need access to this simple, complicated truth, and Kindred's book, though far from the last word on either of its subjects, clears a path to such understanding. ■

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FILMS

Treasure Island

STUART KLAWANS

IRON ISLAND • INSIDE MAN • SISTERS IN LAW

Foreign in much more than language, alien in far more than setting, the Iranian production *Iron Island* interrupts the assumptions of Euro-American cinema much as a rock interrupts a window. See the effect on my categories of thought: I cannot tell whether this story is based on real incidents or a filmmaker's fantasy, whether it's an allegory or an anecdote, to what degree the central character is a crazy philanthropist or a heartless schemer. I admit up front that I do not understand *Iron Island*; and maybe I don't want to, since I'm rarely faced with such a blast of fresh air.

The sensation of wind on the face is in fact one of the first impressions the film offers. Speeding across a vast, calm body of water as if standing in the prow of a motorboat, you rush toward the motionless bulk of an oil tanker. A man's voice comes from behind, saying something about how "the rent is reasonable"; but you don't yet glimpse the speaker, or the party he's talking to. For the moment, you see nothing but the immense hull of the freighter, rearing up like the ocher wall of a canyon.

Only when you reach the deck does the speaker climb up in front of the camera, so that you see who's conducting this tour. Dressed in a white head scarf, dark suit jacket and loose ankle-length robe, the guide is a plump man with a plump white mustache and a chin tucked far behind his nose. He is called Captain Nemat (Ali Nasirian), as you soon learn from the dozens of people who return his vigorous greetings, apply to him for supplies or hurry to carry out the orders he sprays in all directions.

For the first few minutes of *Iron Island*, you might as well be a member of the mute, shuffling family that Nemat conducts through the ship—prospective residents of the grounded oil freighter—as he introduces them to ragtag people doing baffling tasks on a three-dimensional labyrinth of rusting metal. Everything earns Nemat's praise. On the deck, men are hauling away chunks of steel that have a freshly ripped-up look. "I'll give you a job!" Nemat cries to the man trailing him. "No rent! It's deducted from your pay!" Past boys tending a goat and girls doing laundry in metal basins, Nemat comes to a woman who runs a shipboard bakery, when she's got any flour. That reminds him: "You have daughters!" he calls to his new tenant. "I'll find them good husbands!"

In one of the gloomy holds, a bearded man with the slack expression of a psychiatric patient is drawing on the walls with chalk: an exercise for the clump of fly-specked children who sit on the floor, studying a spelling lesson that involves words such as "enemy." Nemat is moved: "Education is more important for your children than bread! They can start right away!" Up ladders and along gangways, Nemat leads the family into a cold, raw chamber. "I'll get you some blankets, and you can divide the room! Now you can get on with your lives!" As Nemat exits to the left, the camera pans right, to show another family standing in the same room.

The writer-director, Mohammad Rasoulof, claims in a written statement that "I have lived with the people of the *Iron Island* and know them well." Does this mean that squatters actually took over a grounded, abandoned tanker in the Persian Gulf and set up a makeshift community? Or does it mean that Rasoulof has lived among the kind of people you see portrayed so vividly in his film: impoverished Sunnis of Arab descent, known in Iran as Bandaris? Anyone with reliable information, please contact *The Nation*. All I know is that Rasoulof triumphed over the extraordinary logistical problems of filming on this singular location, and did so with a large and overwhelmingly nonprofessional cast. The mere existence of *Iron Island* is a wonder.

More wonderful still, the film's figures of political allegory—or perhaps the hints of such figures, since Westerners like me can merely guess at their presence—never weigh down the story but instead speed it along. You're always watching for the next moment's insane detail.

And you're watching for the ship to sink. Early in the film, the schoolteacher uses a

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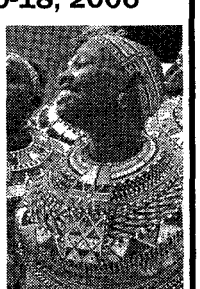

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homemade instrument to demonstrate that the tanker is taking on water—a process no doubt accelerated by Nemat's zeal in stripping the holds for scrap metal, and also drilling through the metal to recover whatever oil was left in the tanks. Although Nemat waves away the evidence that the ship is going down, a certain urgency governs the plot from this moment forward. Later, this race against time becomes doubly severe when a legitimately constituted authority shows up and insists that the ship be evacuated. One way or the other, a multitude of helpless, destitute people will soon need somewhere else to live.

Is Nemat trying to hold his charges together and lead them to safety, or is he just squeezing the last rial out of them? The answer is undecidable—though your attitude might be influenced by Nemat's treatment of a penniless young tenant, Ahmad (Hossein Farzi-Zadeh), who contributes a major subplot to *Iron Island* by falling for a marriageable girl. These things can happen even on a grounded shipboard, even when the girl is kept veiled and sequestered—but the father isn't happy about it, and neither is Nemat, who has made a lucrative match and won't let an idiot boy interfere.

A selection of several major festivals—most recently New Directors/New Films, in New York—*Iron Island* obviously can satisfy an international audience. It does so, in part, through the deft use of widely recognized conventions: the ticking clock, the thwarted lovers, the dubious leader, the extralegal moneymaking scheme. It also employs specifically Iranian conventions that have become familiar to moviegoers around the world: classroom scenes, an ethnic minority cast, a spectacular and elemental setting. So you can place *Iron Island*, up to a point. Beyond that point, the film places you. Here you are, breathing norms and beliefs that inhabit you and surround you like the air itself; and over there are the people of *Iron Island*, who may elicit curiosity or sympathy, but in the end are irreconcilably different from you, and to some extent unintelligible.

"Strange, how those people live," goes the conventional dismissal. To which the rocklike truth of *Iron Island* replies, "Yes, it is."

In an era when most big studio releases lack even a single idea, *Inside Man* has two. One comes from the screenwriter, Russell Gewirtz, who thought up a devilishly clever title and a theme to go with it. The other comes from Universal Pictures and Imagine Entertainment, which could easily have made *Inside Man* from the standard white man's point of view but instead hired Spike Lee to direct. Yes, Lee did a contract job—but that doesn't mean he slapped his coat of paint onto someone else's house. Chronically alert to social divisions in general and the racial divide in particular, Lee heightened the existing tensions between characters and possibly added a few of his own—choices that contributed not just to the style but to the meaning of *Inside Man*.

The theme is spoken directly into the camera at the beginning of the film, in close-up, so nobody can later claim that *Inside Man* is merely a bank-heist movie. "Listen closely to what I say," states Clive Owen, calmly but quickly. "Not everyone in a cell is a prisoner." The full import of this adage must not be revealed—although I may be excused for explaining that Owen's character, one Dalton Russell, does in fact rob a bank, in the course of which crime he becomes a prisoner of a sort. He and his crew, disguised as house painters, take hostage a large number of bank employees and customers but then are discovered in midrobbery by the cops. Russell is surrounded and shut in; but as police detective Keith Frazier (Denzel Washington) begins to understand, this confinement may actually be a part of Russell's plan.

I do not think I'm turning *Inside Man* into a Rorschach blot when I say that Frazier, too, is a man in a tight spot, who needs to figure out which of his constraints he ought to embrace. On the personal level, he feels cramped by his lover (who wants to get married) and by her low-life brother, who bunks down just outside the bedroom door. On a professional level, he feels he is routinely put in a box, whether by Internal Affairs (which makes him the first suspect when cash evidence goes missing) or by the average white captain on duty (Willem Dafoe), who sees a black detective, second grade, and reflexively ignores him. The options for Frazier draw tighter still when a mysterious fixer named Madeleine White (Jodie Foster, dressed in a crisp suit accessorized with a shark's smile) shows up at the crime scene with the mayor in tow to explain that she will be given full cooperation. To do what, only she knows.

Frazier's animosity toward White would not have been so keen, his desire to break rules so pressing, his routine disbelief of people's stories so openly satirical, if he had not been played by Washington, with Lee directing. The combination of actor and director intensifies every aspect of Gewirtz's screenplay, including Frazier's evolving relationship with the increasingly enigmatic bank robber. Thanks to the

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film's ability to be in two places at once, we see moments that are denied to Frazier—odd events that make Dalton Russell seem surprisingly humane, or even benevolent. When Russell at last shows this side of himself to Frazier, offering him a piece of good advice, the detective responds with instinctive sarcasm; but as the film plays out, we also sense that some understanding has passed between these two men, both of them smart outsiders forced to hole up.

In a town called Kumba in Cameroon, several different traditional societies have come up against modernity in the form of women wielding judicial power. So I learn from the documentary *Sisters in Law*, directed by Kim Longinotto with Florence Ayisi: a feature-length account of some of the cases handled in 2004 by state prosecutor Vera Ngassa and court president Beatrice Ntuba.

Two of the matters were historic: successful prosecutions of spousal abuse, brought by astonishingly brave women from the Muslim community. Others were merely heartbreaking: the rape of a 9-year-old by a Bible-thumping neighbor, the brutal beating of a tiny girl by the guardian who was "correcting" her. How did Ngassa and Ntuba come to have power to deal with these things? Unfortunately, the film gives no context. But the women—all of them—are so compelling, and the sense of justice so satisfying, that I can't imagine any audience resisting *Sisters in Law*. It premieres theatrically April 12 at New York's Film Forum. ■

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EVENTS

CALIFORNIA

Paul Robeson Exhibit

■ An exhibit, *Paul Robeson, The Tallest Tree in Our Forest*, opens at the African American Museum and Library at Oakland (AAMLO) on April 8 and runs through July 8. The Bay Area Paul Robeson Centennial Committee, curator of the exhibit's memorabilia, is seeking additional material for this exhibit and for the permanent Paul Robeson archive we are developing. If you have any items that you would consider donating to our collection, please contact us as soon as possible: research@bayarearobeson.org.

MASSACHUSETTS

Rethinking Marxism 2006

■ October 26–28, University of Massachusetts. Join Ernesto Laclau, Julie Graham, Stephen Resnick, Richard Wolff, Susan Buck-Morss, Kojin Karatani, Liza Featherstone, Stephen Cullenberg, David F. Ruccio, Susan Jahoda, Antonio Callari, Warren Montag, Sut Jhally and others in an international gathering of students, scholars and activists. The journal *Rethinking Marxism* invites proposals for videos, performances, papers and panels. Instructions for submitting proposals (deadline is August 1) and registration are available at www.rethinkingmarxism2006.org.

NEW YORK

2006 Pushcart Prize Nominees

■ *A Gathering of the Tribes* celebrates 2006 Pushcart Prize nominees. The editors of *A Gathering of the Tribes* Issue 11 invite you to join us for a night of soulful, mind-blowing poetry, celebrating our Pushcart Prize nominees: Carlo Baldi, Gavin Moses, Faye Chiang, Lara Stapleton and Hal Sirowitz, with emcee Damion Sanders. Monday, April 17, 8 PM, at La MaMa E.T.C. 74A East 4th Street, New York, NY 10003. (212) 475-7710. Now available: *Remain* by Jennifer Murphy (Fly by Night Press) and *Tribes* Issue 11. At www.tribes.org.

India and China: Cities in a World of Migration

■ Join keynote speaker Senator Joseph Biden Jr. at the inaugural conference of The New School's India China Institute. Millions are migrating between rural environments and urban spaces—presenting challenges for these two countries and for the world. International experts and ten newly selected fellows will kick off a two-year conversation in India, China and the United States. Participants including scholars, urban planners and policy-makers will address the opportunities and problems facing emerging cities. April 28 and 29, Teresa Lang Center, 55 West 13th Street, NYC. Full conference $50, single session $12. Students $15, $5 with ID. Information at (212) 229-6812 or IndiaChina@newschool.edu. www.indiachina.newschool.edu.

Public Investment in the Twenty-first Century

■ Political debate today focuses on the federal budget deficit, but the real American deficit may be in public investment—in education, technology, transportation, energy and childcare. The New School conference on "Public Investment in the 21st Century" will bring together experts in these areas to discuss our national needs, strategies to meet these needs and political resistance to this agenda. Keynote address will be delivered by Felix Rohatyn, former US Ambassador to France and former chair of the Municipal Assistance Corporation of the State of New York: "Whatever Happened to Public Investment?" Other presenters include Robert Solow (MIT), Peter Orszag (Brookings Institution and former Special Assistant to President Clinton for Economic Policy), Richard Nelson (Columbia University), Rob McIntyre (Citizens for Tax Justice), Joel Rogers (University of Wisconsin Law School), Bruce Vladeck (Mount Sinai School of Medicine), Janet Gornick (Baruch College) and Robert Gordon (Center for American Progress). Sponsored by the Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis at The New School. Wednesday, April 26, noon to 7 PM. Wolff Conference Room, 65 Fifth Avenue. Information and registration: cepa@newschool.edu or (212) 229-5901 ext. 4911. For an up-to-date program, see www.newschool.ed/cepa.

PEN World Voices

■ The New York Festival of International Literature: April 25–30. In its second year, PEN World Voices brings together 137 writers from 41 countries for 58 programs on one theme: Faith and Reason. Participants include Chinua Achebe, Martin Amis, Margaret Atwood, E.L. Doctorow, Nadine Gordimer, David Grossman, Elias Khoury, Toni Morrison, Orhan Pamuk, Salman Rushdie, Zadie Smith, Duong Thu Huong, Jeanette Winterson and many more. For a full schedule of events, please visit www.pen.org/worldvoices.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

■ Join us in honoring Cindy Sheehan and Veterans for Peace at the reunion of the Lincoln Brigade. Sunday, April 30, 1:30 PM, at Cooper Union Auditorium (Astor Place, East 7th Street and 3rd Avenue). Featuring "Songs Against War: Voices of Anti-Warriors," a musical performance with Barbara Dane and Bruce Barthol; emcee Henry Foner. For tickets: (212) 674-5552; credit card: www.alba-valb.org/april30thtix.html.

VIRGINIA

Theorizing Power in the Post-9/11 World

■ The Alliance of Social, Political, Ethical and Cultural Thought (ASPECT) at Virginia Tech, in partnership with the International Social Theory Consortium (ISTC), is hosting the Seventh Annual ISTC Conference May 18–21, at the Hotel Roanoke and Conference Center. Registration, hotel and program information: www.aspect.vt.edu.

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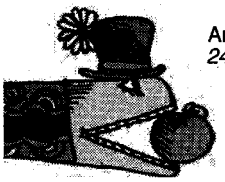

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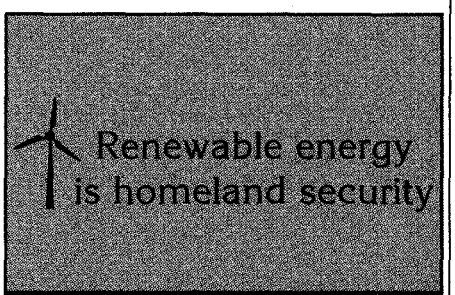

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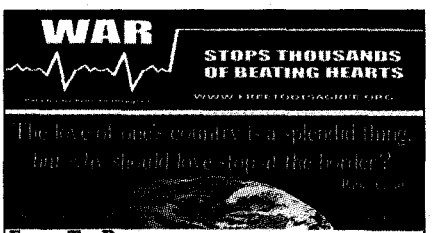

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CALL TODAY TO RECEIVE FREE BULBS FOR LIFE† AND FREE SHIPPING††

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with a savings of $77 over the life of one bulb!**

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded...and the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well-being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy level. But as we all know, the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So, to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

Experience sunshine indoors at the touch-of-a-switch. This amazing lamp is easy on the eyes and easy on the hands. It features a special "soft-touch, flicker-free" rocker switch that's easier to use than traditional toggle or twist switches. Its flexible gooseneck design enables you to get light where you need it most. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.

*SAVE $77 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!***

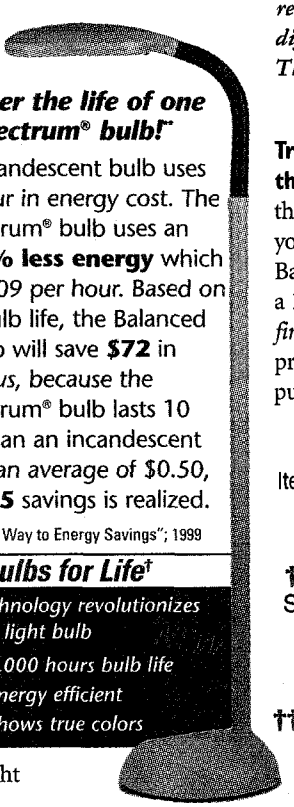
A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 8,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$72** in energy cost. *Plus,* because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

**Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

Free Bulbs for Life†

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *8,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*



Height as shown: 50"

"As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference. This lamp is just what I needed. Thank you so much."

Donna E.
Scranton, PA

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a 1-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Item# BS-3589 ..... was ~~$59.95~~

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†FREE Bulbs for Life. Order one Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp; if it ever needs a new bulb, we'll send you a free bulb valued at $24.95, and ALL you pay is S&H.

- or -

††Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get **FREE Bulbs for Life† plus FREE shipping** on both lamps.

††Free shipping within the contiguous 48 states Only.

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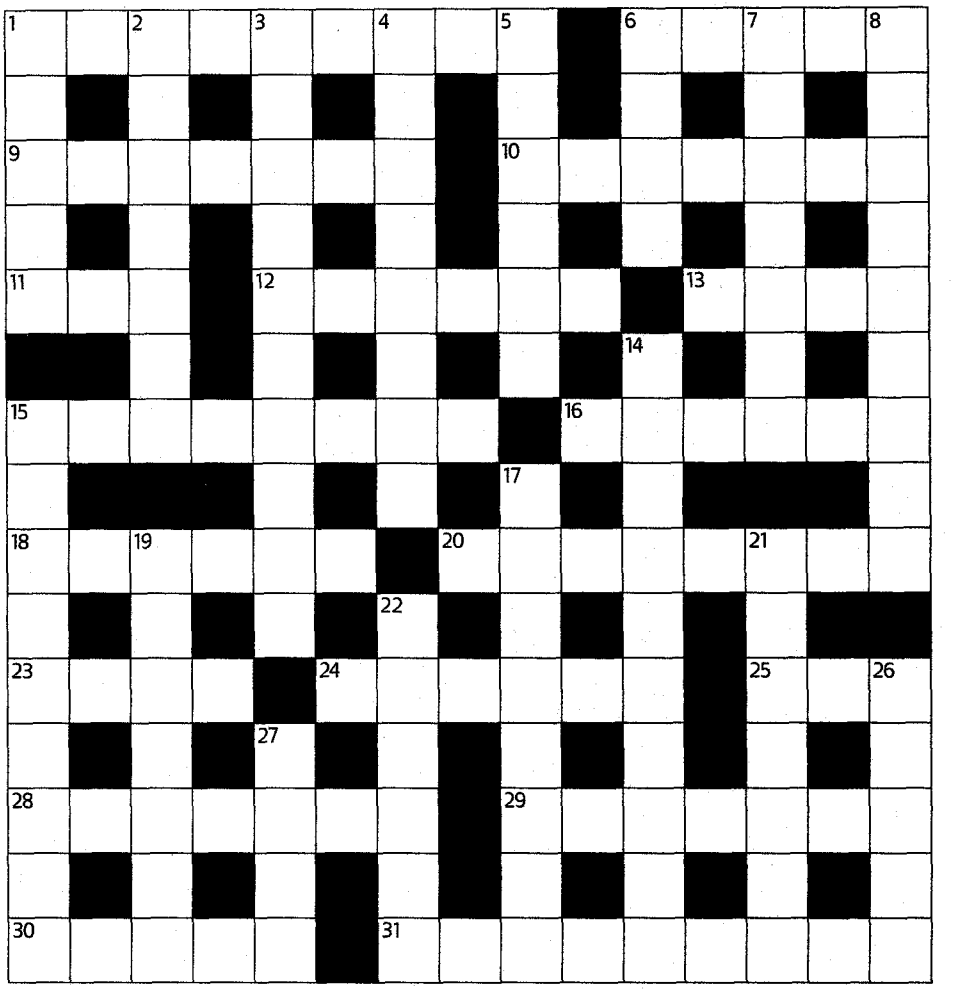
PUZZLE NO. 3031

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 How students advance in their grades by skipping certain things? (9)

6 Beginning to a classic palindrome saying, "I'm Adam!" (5)

9 A tall building is the type that has many tales told about it. (7)

10 Sent wrong to urge someone on in order get a fund for later use. (4,3)

11, 12 and **13** Someone from a plains state said she was off to see him in the air. (3,6,2,2)

15 I do mind, when I am! (8)

16 Paul, or John, for example, provides something to eat with any sort. (6)

18 The first and last surroundings of a painful expression, given as one gets hit by the blade. (6)

20 A classic military expedition furnishing a couple of articles on a regular foundation. (8)

23 and **24** When he gets his kicks, it doesn't cost anything, but he might do a bit of pirating. (10)

25 See 27 down

28 Leaned against something, however the wrong date is around this. (7)

29 If things are this, they could have a fine response, possibly. (7)

30 The clatter of success shown in it? (5)

31 Some consider them square, but one can possibly find tiers of them. (4,5)

DOWN

1 Troubles might do this to you, but people don't like to, at the bridge table. (5)

2 Get up when the rope is tossed around it, by someone you might be sponsoring. (7)

3 His is the craft of crafts—and gets his bad whips first—correct? (10)

4 Putting a nonmetallic halogen element in something with what looks like ten I'd put up, with real zest! (8)

5 Elmer of literature has quite a bit of scaffolding framework. (6)

6 Has to be new wine. (4)

7 It might be a nuisance in summer, when those they can shoot only in season take wings. (7)

8 See 22

14 What a tourist is supposed to do sounds like what you do when she's been at the computer all day! (6-4)

15 With no escort, and very passé. (3,2,4)

17 One hears it is incomplete, but it's a sign that the limb was taken off. (8)

19 In part, it's a jejune quality—but not quite up to something. (7)

21 Supposedly follows 23—as they used to say to the unwanted type. (7)

22 and **8** Not journals of the cosmetic industry—where a blowup would have an undesired effect. (6,9)

26 When this precedes 6 down, it implies a real requirement, proving even such Edens can be shaky. (5)

27 and **25** across What a "figure man" might deal with, and a particle that might show where some people get off. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3030

C	R	A	B	B	E	D		A	L	A	D	D	I	N
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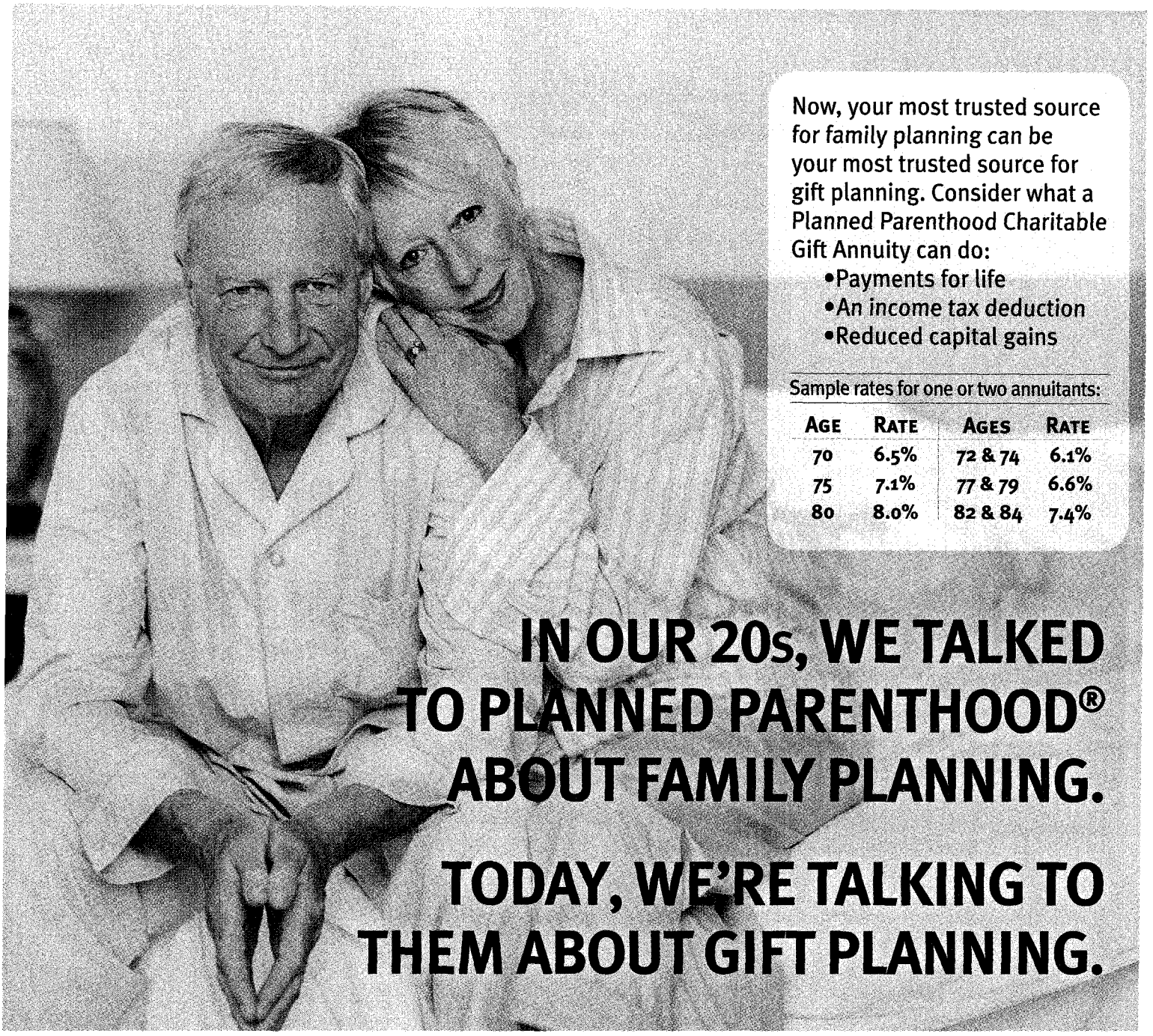

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